
Essay

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in the Faculty of Political Science
of Columbia University.

Randolph S. Bourne.

A Study of the "Suburbanizing" of a Town, and the Effects
of the Process upon its Social Life.

Contents:-

Introduction.

The Social Process.

The attraction of the city upon the suburban community.

The attraction of the suburban community upon the city.

The social classes and issues generated by this interaction.

The Geographical Situation of the Community.

The influence of communications.

The Demotic Composition.

The Distribution of Population.

According to place of occupation,- metropolis, local community, or county.

According to occupation itself.

The Development of Industry and Communication in the Community.

The community before the coming of the railroad.

The coming of the railroad.

Suburban development and growth of the community.

Recent progress.

The Effect of the Process of Suburbanization upon Local Politics:-

Political issues and conflicts generated.

Two typical crises:

(a) secession.

(b) annexation.

The shifting of political power.

The Effect on Industry and Business.

The factories and the wage-earners.

Local labor conditions.

The business competition of the city.

The Effect on Social Life and Amusements.

"Society".

Failure of social projects.

The competitive lure of the city.

How concerted effort in the community does express itself.

The Effect on Culture and Ideals.

Religious life and organization; church jealousy.

Traditional ideals; Puritanism.

New ideals; social service; civic spirit. Institutions.

General culture. Entertainments. The library. The press.

The schools.

Summary.

Sources:-

United States Census: 1890; 1900; 1910.

New Jersey State Census: 1865; 1875; 1885; 1905.

New Jersey Industrial Directory: 1912.

Map of Bloomfield: 1856; 1865.

Election Registry Lists: Bloomfield Town, 1912.

General Ordinances: Town of Bloomfield, 1903.

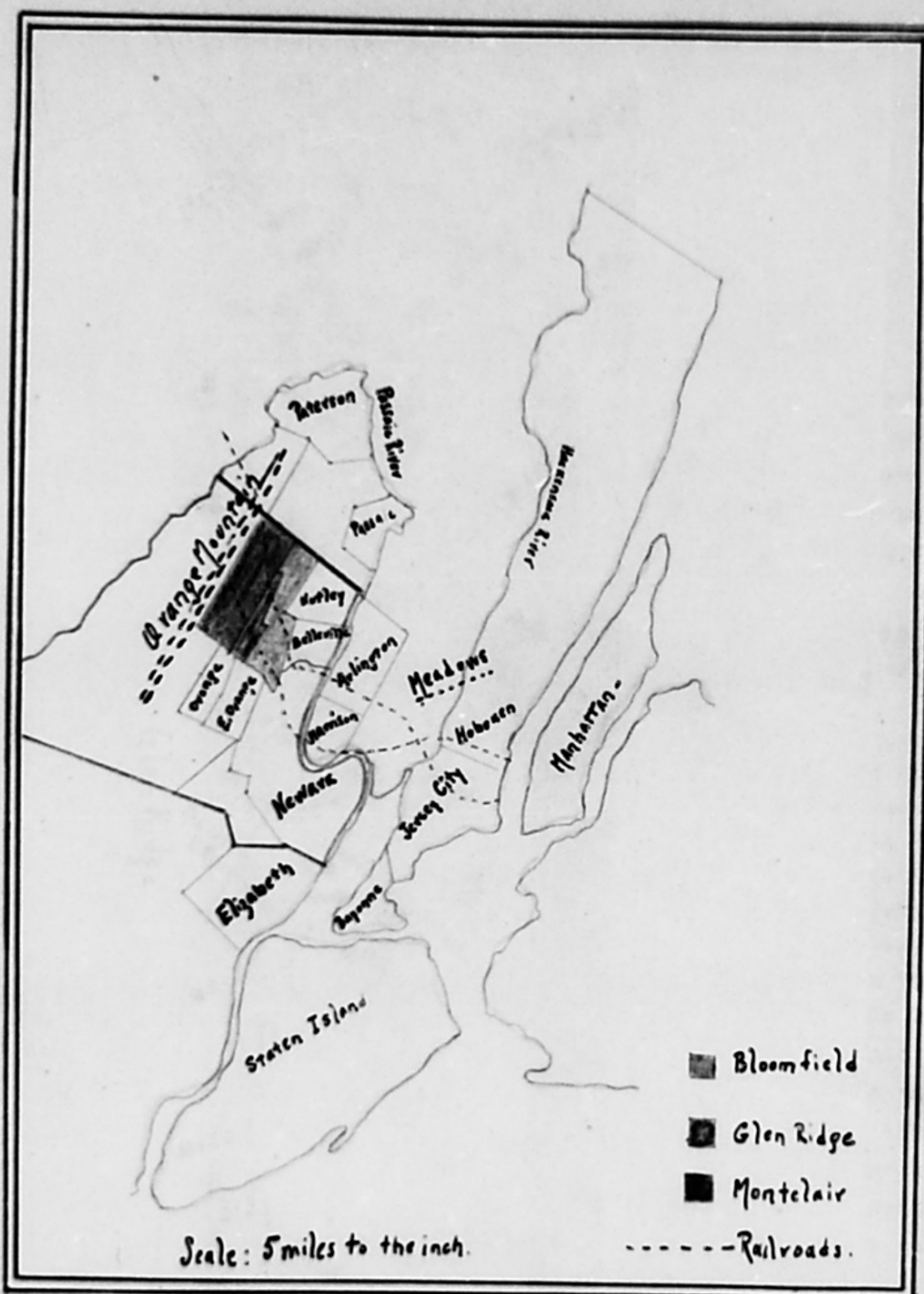
Real and Ideal Bloomfield: by S.M.Hulin. Bloomfield, 1902.

Bloomfield, Old and New: published by Centennial Committee. 1912.

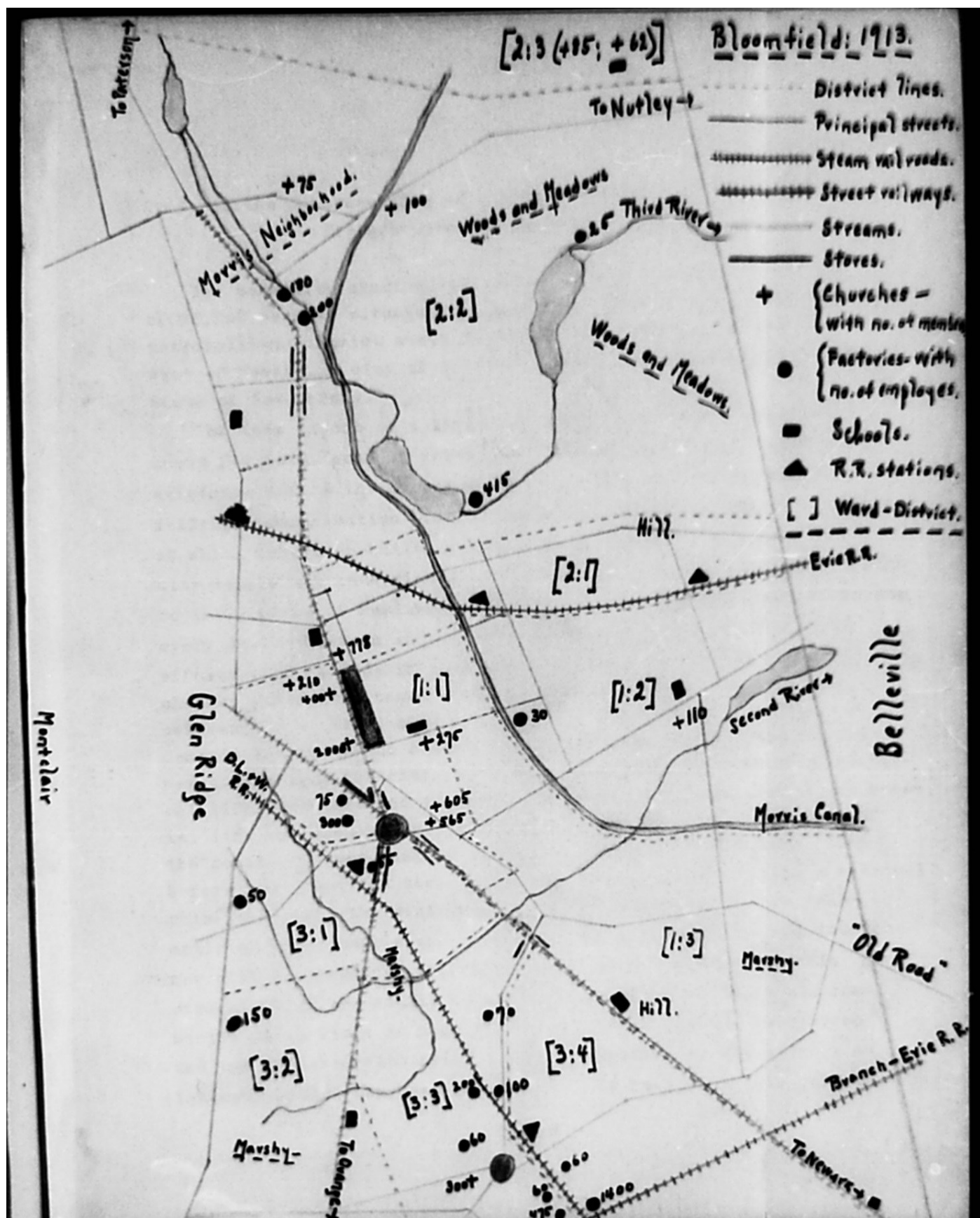
History of Montclair Township: by H.J.Whittemore.

Reminiscences of Julius H.Pratt. Montclair, 1910.

Reminiscences of Montclair: by P.Doremus. Montclair, 1908.



Bloomfield and the Suburban District about New York.



Study of the Suburbanizing of a Town, and the Effects of the Process upon its Social Life.

The community studied, (Bloomfield, New Jersey), is a town of 15,000 people, situated in Essex County, New Jersey, in the metropolitan district about New York City, and four miles northwest of Newark, a city of 350,000 people, and the largest in the State of New Jersey.

The town is one of a large number of suburban communities about New York, some of which have had an independent community existence before the growth of the city and the extension of railroad communication brought them into touch with it, and others of which have been built up directly as residence places for city people who have wished to live in the country, yet near enough to their place of business so that they could go back and forth every day. The town in question is of the former species, and efforts will be made in this paper to trace some of the social changes which have taken place as a result of the interaction between the settled, steady life of an old village, and the new demands, interests and broader points of view represented by the new-comers from the city, with the consequent alteration in political life, business and industrial life, culture and ideals and social life and amusements. After discussing the broad outlines of the social process, and narrating the history of the town, both before and after the development of communications with the metropolis, analyzing the distribution of the population, this leit-motiv of the struggle and the interaction between the old and the new will be developed in a discussion of the effects of this struggle upon the social life of the community. Since the community is so large in population, and is so closely interwoven and interrelated with neighboring communities in the county, an intensive study has been impossible. We have been able only to

examine rather general processes and changes, and treat of large groups and classes, related either institutionally or by a community of interests and advantage. Since up to thirteen years ago, the town had simply a village form of government, there are few significant statistics at hand to provide accurate conclusions. The State Census also is unaccountably lacking in important years, and contains comparatively meagre tabulations, except in the later years. We have been obliged therefore to depend on the historical matter mentioned in the list of sources, and for most of our psychological analysis and classifications upon personal observation and inquiry.

The Social Process:-

As soon as the town gets within the 'magnetic field', so to speak, of the city, the superior opportunities of the latter operate to draw to it the most ambitious and aggressive native personalities. Some, of course, merely altering their place of business from the local community to the metropolis, are enabled to remain at home and become a sort of 'native suburbanite'. But the great majority of the younger men tend to pass to the city and, if they do not remain there, at least do not return to their birthplace. Thus the town loses that element, which, if the town were outside the metropolitan region, would tend to remain at home and keep up the traditions and institutions unimpaired. As a result, local business is left to the less ambitious or the less fortunate, and, if this process were not counterbalanced, the town would tend slowly to decay, as many do, through lack of efficient native leadership and the general mediocrity of the population. This is what seems to happen in those communities which are near enough to a metropolis to be within its 'magnetic field' of attraction, and yet too far away or too badly situated to exert their own attraction upon the metropolis. For the suburban town has, of course, its own magnetism. The drain

of its natives to the city is, to a more or less degree, counterbalanced by the influx of city people. This 'commuting' population, as it is called from the form of railroad tickets sold giving daily rides at a reduced rate, has grown very rapidly in the last thirty or forty years, and its effect on the towns where it has come has been momentous. The places of the natives who have gone out to succeed in other fields and environments has been taken by strangers, who, while generally entering vigorously into the life of the town, bring new standards, a lack of traditions, and a business-like spirit which in time tends to destroy the characteristic quality of the old place, in a sense, to depersonalize and de-communalize it, and fill it with a drifting population which uses it not as a home but as an abiding place, more or less temporary, and, more significantly, a place whose social life, such as it is, is always to be tested with reference to the standards of the city whence they have come. The 'commuter' may be called an aggravated type of the modern nomadic American. Passing lightly from suburb to suburb, sinking no roots, and moving his household gods without compunction or regret with his interests and life actually centred always in the metropolis, -he is perhaps the chief factor in preventing the growth of social institutions and of a healthy communal spirit, the chief factor in the sterilization of social life whose process we shall hope to trace. Or perhaps it would be truer to say that he is a symptom. At any rate, he is the agent of the city in its march. As it cuts an ever wider and wider swath, its vortex becomes so powerful as to suck in the hardest towns and strip them of their individuality and ancient flavor. The city swamps its neighbors, and turns them into mere aggregations of expressionless streets, lined with box-like houses or shanties of stores, and degrades their pleasant meadows into 'development projects' and 'park sites'. The town becomes simply a suburban annex.

a sleeping-place for 'commuters'. The populations are so transient that the towns seem almost to be rebuilt every twenty years. This I say is the tendency. There is great difference of course in the power of towns to attract the 'commuter'; situation, reputation, etc. Since most of those persons of the class that we are considering are comparatively well-to-do, and are attracted from the city by the apparently superior advantages the town offers to their children, it is the ^{the} general social town which is the chief factor in attraction. Those who are socially ambitious look for a community with a brilliant society; the more humble families desire church and school facilities.

But the suburban town attracts also a very different class, one whose social interests are, in a sense, opposed to those of the 'commuter' class mentioned above. This 'commuter' class is composed almost entirely of business and professional persons. The element we now consider is the industrial, the factory- and workers. To a company looking about for a site on which to locate its industrial plant, the suburban town offers a unique combination of favorable conditions. The nearby city has at hand a large, and relatively cheap - since composed so largely of newly arrived aliens - ~~cheap~~ labor force. It provides an incomparable market and distributing centre, while the town itself, being within the metropolitan district, is likely to have varied and excellent transportation facilities. The suburban town thus tends, (except when definite measures, as they sometimes are, are taken to exclude industrial plants,) to attract factories and a factory population, with almost the strength of attraction which it exercises towards the 'commuter' class. These two magnetisms, however, conflict. The presence of a large industrial element in a town makes it unattractive to well-to-do families from the city, and those communities which have a certain pride in their wealth and exclusiveness take pains to exclude from their borders any

thing that savors of the factory element. But in many of the older towns, as in the one we are considering, the two processes have gone on almost imperceptibly side by side. A large factory class and a large 'commuter' class have both become well established in the town before the fact has been realized. When they are so established, the town may with equal justice be known and advertised as a "large manufacturing town", or "a choice residential community". The city fathers who have the conservation of the local prestige at heart are torn between the desire for the growth in population and wealth which the industrial element will give them, and the social glamor and exclusiveness which a city aristocracy will shed over them. They do not know whether to offer free sites for manufacturing purposes, or to encourage the promoters of "residential parks". Often, as in the present instance, they attempt to do both, but the tendency is, as the industrial element increases, to see a process of social selection take place, whereby the socially ambitious and the cultured are slowly squeezed out, and the community becomes one of factory-workers, and lower middle-class business people of small incomes and ambitions.

All these processes have been going on and are still going on in the town we are considering. Partly because of its relatively unfavorable situation, and partly because of a very tenacious Puritan and religious quality of its original stock, it has seen itself outstripped in social elegance by its neighbors on the west. On the other hand, the continuance of the old families in the town, centred in the old church and the green, and forming a sort of traditional 'ruling class', has allowed it to retain, until recently, a certain social tone of its own, which has proved attractive enough to well-to-do families to form a small nucleus, and to fill the ranks of the dwindling native aristocracy. The latter shows a very marked enthusiasm in assimilating the eligible; it

thing that savors of the factory element. But in many of the older towns, as in the one we are considering, the two processes have gone on almost imperceptibly side by side. A large factory class and a large 'commuter' class have both become well established in the town before the fact has been realized. When they are so established, the town may with equal justice be known and advertised as a "large manufacturing town", or "a choice residential community". The city fathers who have the conservation of the local prestige at heart are torn between the desire for the growth in population and wealth which the industrial element will give them, and the social glamor and exclusiveness which a city aristocracy will shed over them. They do not know whether to offer free sites for manufacturing purposes, or to encourage the promoters of "residential parks". Often, as in the present instance, they attempt to do both, but the tendency is, as the industrial element increases, to see a process of social selection take place, whereby the socially ambitious and the cultured are slowly squeezed out, and the community becomes one of factory-workers, and lower middle-class business people of small incomes and ambitions.

All these processes have been going on and are still going on in the town we are considering. Partly because of its relatively unfavorable situation, and partly because of a very tenacious Puritan and religious quality of its original stock, it has seen itself outstripped in social elegance by its neighbors on the west. On the other hand, the continuance of the old families in the town, centred in the old church and the green, and forming a sort of traditional 'ruling class', has allowed it to retain, until recently, a certain social tone of its own, which has proved attractive enough to well-to-do families to form a small nucleus, and to fill the ranks of the dwindling native aristocracy. The latter shows a very marked enthusiasm in assimilating the eligible; it

gives new comers ~~of~~ who seem to approximate to its own standards of wealth and social eligibility the leading places in church and school affairs, in town movements, and society, and shows an almost conscious effort to train them to be heirs and successors of their own traditional prestige when they themselves shall have passed on. But this, in every sense, an assimilation, not a victory of the new over the old. It is especially noticeable on the occasion of patriotic celebrations and anniversaries, when these new-comers tend unconsciously to fall into the phraseology of the natives, and speak of the traditions and ancestors as if they were their own. This native aristocracy, with its assimilations, speaks regretfully of the old times, when 'everybody knew everybody else'. The foreigners have spoiled the town, they say; it is not what it used to be. With the influx of 'commuters' in recent years, ~~their~~ and the political crises, which we will discuss later on, its prestige, of course, has tended to diminish. Yet, still, through the churches, it exercises much influence on social movements and ideals, if not on politics itself.

Besides this class, we can distinguish a fairly definite 'middle class', whose nucleus lies in the local tradesmen of the time and the first influx of commuters after the railroads to New York were opened. The tremendous boom of the town to the West with its superior location, as we shall see, operated as a kind of sifting process. The wealthy and progressive passed through the town to the west; our town picked out the smaller bourgeoisie, the more narrowly religious type, the small merchant or clerk. And this process of sifting has gone on ever since. The assimilations discussed in the preceding paragraph have been more or less happy accidents; it is this middle class that has continued to attract from the city with steady magnetism socially sympathetic individuals and families. This segregative selection is especially

noticeable in connection with this class, for such persons are not driven to the town by economic pressure, as is the case with at least a part of the factory class, nor are they attracted by aesthetic considerations or the opportunity of influence ^{as} some of those assimilated to the 'ruling class' of which we spoke. They rather come to the town because here is a large class of respectable, religious people, of the sort that they want to associate with, and because the churches of the evangelical type will give them exactly the society which they need. This class is largely recruited, it will be found, from persons who have come to New York from smaller towns and rural districts, and finding the sophistication and congestion of the city uncongenial, seek an atmosphere more nearly like, in spiritual tone, what they have been used to at home. The local tradesman, with the coming in of foreigners, have of late years rather tended, from the point of view of social eligibility, to fall below this middle-class, or rather perhaps to occupy a sort of privileged position in politics and all social movements where their financial co-operation is indispensable, - a position of honor without intimacy ^{with} or assimilation into any social class.

The factory class in the suburban town, as in the large city, is of little importance politically or socially. Its status is even lower in a town such as the one we are considering, where a native aristocracy struggles to keep up the tone of the place. An ethics of social ostracism and an undue depreciation of factory labor arises, which prevents the co-operation of classes in social movements. In this town, for instance, where the factory labor is very largely highly skilled and intelligent, a great loss of social power seems to result from the sharp class differences.

Speaking strictly, these class differences exist only between leaders, and only appear in crises. Yet they stand for such

definite psychological complexes of prejudices and attitudes, and crystalline into so many institutions, and interpret so many social phenomena otherwise hard to understand, that we can hardly discuss a large community without some such conception as this. And these classes have been formed in so definite a way, that is, by segregative selection in the presence of forces interacting between our suburban town and the metropolis, that we are justified in reading the social process at least partly in terms of these class-concepts.

After analyzing the geographical situation of our town, and its demotic composition, this process will be taken up historically, and then the specific facts which the general survey above has suggested, will be discussed.

Situation:-

The accompanying map shows part of the New Jersey suburban district with New York City and Bay. Bloomfield is marked in blue crayon, its neighbors, Glen Ridge and Montclair in red and green respectively. As will be seen, the town touches Newark, but the two centres are four miles apart. It is suburban in a sense to both New York and Newark, - from the point of view of the number of 'commuters', more so to the former, - but, since the problems and processes are the same, since the town operates on Newark and New York identically so far as the processes we are considering are concerned, and vice versa, we shall speak of the metropolis as meaning both cities, unless otherwise indicated. For Newark in an industrial sense, and as a business and professional centre, is little more than an extension of New York.

From the top of the Orange Mountain, a low ridge of traprock running directly north and south, the entire county looks like one vast town; as the original villages have spread they have merged

into one another so that it is practically impossible to tell where one leaves off and another begins. This physical merging has resulted in a social merging, so that districts near the borders of the towns are in many cases sociologically a part of the neighboring town, though politically a part of their own. The county is intersected with a network of trolley lines, and at least a third of the working people of the towns have their homes in communities other than where they work, and travel to and fro every day. This interpenetration is a factor in vitiating communal life, while not making for any larger county interests and social advantage.

Newark is situated on a low flat along the Passaic River and Newark Bay, and from there the land rises gradually up to the mountain, about 600 feet in height. Montclair lies on its slope, Glen Ridge on its foothills, Bloomfield on a plateau of elevation about 150 feet, while Nutley and Belleville lie partly on the plateau and partly on a steep declivity which descends to the river. Two small streams, the Second and the Third River, flow into the Passaic here, and it was along them on this declivity that the first manufacturing of the region sprang up. Across the river, the land rises sharply to a low ridge, and then falls again to the salt meadows, about five miles wide, now crossed by several roads and railroads. Then comes the southern end of the Palisades, and between them and the Hudson, Jersey City and Hoboken, the New York termini for this suburban district. To the south of Bloomfield lie Orange and West Orange, the first largely manufacturing, the second residential, both old villages in which the process of suburbanizing suggested above has gone much further and been much more thorough than at Bloomfield. To the north lies a rural region, Paterson and Passaic, though large cities, being unconnected with the town, either by steam or electric road.

The town is connected with Newark and New York by two railroads, with Newark, Montclair and Orange by electric roads. The effect has been to isolate it in a sense from the towns on the north and east, so that, although it is within seven miles of Paterson, one of the largest cities in the State, communication and interaction with its life can be said to be practically nil. This factor of communication has meant the division of the town into two communities. The northern part or agricultural section does keep more or less in touch with its northern neighbors, and finds a market for its produce there, although the Newark market has grown much in the last twenty years. But the southern half of the town, shown on the next map, is the real suburban community which we are studying. It contains at least 98% of the total population of the town, whereas the northern half is simply a rural village, mostly of truck farms, with two small churches, a schoolhouse and a post-office indeed, but almost without significance in the community life of the town.

This factor of communication and situation has also been potent in determining the social tone of our community, that is in determining which of its neighbors should influence its ambitions and stimulate its rivalry. As has been suggested above, These four communities - Montclair, Glen Ridge, Bloomfield and Belleville, compressed into a region of about five miles, between the mountain and the river, are graded geographically in what amounts to 'terraces'. Now these terraces are not only geographical but social. Belleville on the river early became a manufacturing village because of the water-power at hand and the excellent river highway for transportation; it attracted in its early years a strong factory population, and has become as dingy a manufacturing town as one could wish, in spite of its beautiful name. Montclair, on the other hand, because of its relatively high alti-

tude, attracted a class of prosperous business and professional families from the city, and became in a short time a residential town of the most progressive and attractive character. Bloomfield, neutrally situated, would tend naturally to react to that one of its neighbors with which its communications were best. We can hardly doubt that if its communications had been with Belleville and Paterson, for instance, it would early have become a residence place for the overflow of mill-workers - and the manufactures of these two places are decidedly less skilled in character than the Bloomfield manufactures - and the whole social alignment of our town been different. As it is, it has tended in municipal matters and social life to emulate Montclair rather than Belleville. It has had to be content with a less brilliant class of new-comers than Montclair, in just about the ratio of the favorability of their situations, but in school, fire, police matters, etc., it has patterned itself rather closely after that town. An interesting example of this magnetic power of Montclair is shown by the attitude of the Borough of Glen Ridge, which at one time was a part of Bloomfield. After its secession, it turned its face resolutely away from the east, began to feel its kinship with the larger town on the west and is said to be covertly seeking annexation. The influence of the Oranges upon the town has been less strong, except the extreme southern part, which already identifies itself more with those towns than with its own. This lesser influence can be partly accounted for by the fact that until 1890 there was no communication with the towns to the south, and then, and ever since, only by a single-track electric road; whereas the town is connected with Newark and Montclair by a speedy double-track road, running frequent cars night and day.

Demotic Composition:-

The following table presents the population of Bloomfield, with that of Montclair, (part of Bloomfield until 1868), and Belleville, (part of Bloomfield until 1839).:- 1820-1910.

Year.	Bloomfield.	Montclair.	Belleville.
1820	3085	-----	-----
1830	4309	-----	-----
1840	2528	-----	2466
1850	3385	-----	3514
1855	3296	-----	
1860	4790	-----	
1865	6408	-----	
1870	4580	2853	3644
1875	5425	4034	
1880	5748	5147	
1885	6592	6327	
1890	7708	8656	3487
1895	8093	11753	
1900	9668	13962	
1905	11668	16370	7632
1910	15979	21550	9891

This table indicates the relative rate of growth of the three communities, and confirms what was said above concerning their relative attractiveness as suburban towns. Belleville, which in 1840, before the beginning of rail communication with New York, had about the same population as Bloomfield, now has only a little more than three-fifths; while Montclair, with less than two-thirds the population of Bloomfield in 1870 (the beginning of Montclair's boom), crept ahead, until in 1890 it surpassed the parent town, and now has over forty per cent more people.

The next table gives the figures for Color, Nativity, and Foreign nationalities, as far as they can be procured for Bloomfield, 1865-1910.:-

American Born.	1865	1875	1885	1900	1905	1910
American born.	3975	3868	4978	7401	8984	
Native white-native parentage.				3845		5973
Native white-foreign or mixed parentage.				3231		5241
Foreign-born white.	1076	1398	1372	2267	2684	3359
Negro.	95	157	152	329	456	490
Foreign-born white: (miscellaneous)	429				882	287
Born in -						
Austria					419	119
England					471	519
Germany			580		686	747
Ireland			463		397	435
Italy					248	304
Russia						638
Scotland						122
Sweden.						188
Native white: both parents born in-					(miscellaneous)	760
England						364
Germany						1052
Ireland						695
Italy						239
Russia						383
Sweden						111

(The figures for "American born" are taken from the State Census; the Federal Census classifies into "Native white- native parentage", and "Native white- foreign or mixed parentage").

These figures indicate that the percentage of foreign born in the town has not materially increased in the last fifty years, the percentages being as follows:-

<u>1865</u>	<u>1875</u>	<u>1885</u>	<u>1900</u>	<u>1905</u>	<u>1910</u>
16.8%	25.8%	21.1%	23.4%	23.0%	22.3%.

The percentage of the population, foreign-born or of foreign parentage, in which comes from the countries of north-western Europe is relatively large,- 59.3%, for a town so near New York, and indicates what was suggested before, that the industries of the town are manufactures employing skilled labor. The countries those represented by more than 100 persons; it will be seen that included in the table are, with the exception of Italy and Russia, countries of northwest Europe.

Some instructive conclusions can be drawn in this matter of foreign population from a comparison of Bloomfield with Montclair and Glen Ridge, as well as with a town in the northern part of the State (Phillipsburg) outside of the metropolitan district, and a town in the southern part of the State (Millville), both towns of about the same size and character as Bloomfield.

Native	<u>Bloomfd.</u>	<u>Mtclair.</u>	<u>G.Ridge.</u>	<u>Philbg.</u>	<u>Millville.</u>
Native white-					
native par.	39.6%	41.7%		64.4%	81.9%
Native white-					
for. or mixed par.	34.8%	22.9%	17.5%	21.3%	11.3%
For. born white.	22.3%	23.8%	13.8%	13.8%	5.8%
Negro.	3.2%	11.5%	8.1%	0.5%	0.9%
English	4.0%	2.5%	2.4%	1.2%	1.1%
Irish	3.4%	6.6%	6.3%	3.3%	0.9%
German	5.9%	1.8%	0.8%	2.2%	1.5%
Italian	2.1%	5.0%	1.6%	2.1%	0.5%
Others	7.5%	7.5%	6.4%	4.0%	2.0%

(The figures for the first four classes are from the Federal Census of 1910; the others from the State Census of 1905)

The most striking fact ~~is~~ⁱⁿ these tables is, of course, the ~~p~~^{very} much lower percentage of native-born ~~(in the suburban towns,~~^{in the suburban towns,} as compared with towns outside of the metropolitan district. Where Bloomfield gives 74.4% and Montclair 64.3%, Phillipsburg gives 85.7% and Millville, the furthest removed from New York, ~~is~~^{is} 93.2%, of native white, including both native and foreign parentage. It would be unsafe perhaps to say that the number of foreign born in a town varies in inverse ratio to its distance ~~from~~^{from} a metropolis, but the tendency to huddle near New York is evident in these figures. It cannot be accounted for on the ground of the presence of manufactures, for Millville and its neighbor Bridgeton, have almost as many manufacturing establishments as Bloomfield. It must ~~be~~^{be} explained rather in terms of social inertia.

The much higher percentage of Irish and Negroes in Montclair ~~as compared with Bloomfield~~^{as compared with Bloomfield} and Glen Ridge, suggest at once a wider utilization of domestic servants in these more aristocratic places. Bloomfield, with a ~~less~~^{less} wealthy and socially ambitious population, has less use for domestic servants, as ~~we~~^{we} shall see in our next table. The high percentage of Italians in Montclair can be partly explained by the existence of a segregated colony which acted as a nucleus to attract others; this colony had also a rather strong communal spirit and seems to be much given to festivities and patriotic ~~and~~^{and} celebrations.

Distribution of the Population with Reference to Occupations:-

The map entitled "Bloomfield: 1913" shows the lower section of the town, containing almost exactly half of its 3469 acres, and at least 95% of the population. Nine of the ten election districts are indicated, marked in blue lines, the tenth representing the northern half of the town - the rural district - indicated at the top of the map by (2:3), with its two small churches and their size. On the map are indicated the principal streets, (in red); the street railways, (in crossed red lines); the railroads (in crossed green lines); the streams, (in yellow); the churches, (by a cross with the number of communicants added); the factories, employing more than 25 employees, (by a circle, with the number of employees added); the schools, (by a rectangle); the railroad stations by a triangle); while the numbers, as (3:3) indicate (Third) Ward, (Third) District. The brown circles represent centres of business, with stores, etc.

In order to find out the relative proportions of the 'commuting' population, the Registry lists for the election of 1912, (one district missing), were tabulated according to districts, with the following results:- (The figures indicate the percentages of the voters engaged in business or other occupation in each district, engaged - (1) New York City, (the real 'commuter'); (2) Newark; (3) at home in Bloomfield; (4) in some other town, exclusive of Newark, in the county.)

Distribution of the Population with Reference to Occupations:-

The map entitled "Bloomfield: 1913" shows the lower section of the town, containing almost exactly half of its 3469 acres, and at least 95% of the population. Nine of the ten election districts are indicated, marked in blue lines, the tenth representing the northern half of the town - the rural district - indicated at the top of the map by (2:3), with its two small churches and their size. On the map are indicated the principal streets, (in red); the street railways (in crossed red lines); the railroads (in crossed green lines); the streams (in yellow); the churches (by a cross with the number of communicants added); the factories, employing more than 25 employees, (by a circle, with the number of employees added); the schools (by a rectangle); the railroad stations by a triangle); while the numbers, as (3:3) indicate (Third) Ward, (Third) District. The brown circles represent centres of business, with stores, etc.

In order to find out the relative proportions of the 'commuting' population, the Registry lists for the election of 1912, (one district missing), were tabulated according to districts, with the following results:- (The figures indicate the percentages of the voters engaged in business or other occupation in each district, engaged - (1) New York City, (the real 'commuter'); (2) Newark; (3) at home in Bloomfield; (4) in some other town, exclusive of Newark, in the county.)

<u>Ward-District.</u>	<u>Occupation in N.Y.</u>	<u>Newark.</u>	<u>Blfd.</u>	<u>County.</u>
1:1	.....missing.....			
1:2	.....340... 40.0%	11.6%	38.6%	9.8%
1:3	.....378... 30.4%	20.1%	39.4%	10.1%
2:1	.....271... 44.6%	10.3%	35.8%	9.3%
2:2	.....363... 13.2	11.3%	60.3%	15.2%
2:3	.....122... 6.6%	5.7%	67.2%	20.5%
3:1	.....211... 27.0%	15.6%	47.0%	10.4%
3:2	.....160... 20.6%	11.3%	45.6%	22.5%
3:3	.....289... 6.9%	14.8%	53.6%	24.7%
3:4	.....271... 13.7%	17.7%	49.4%	19.2%
Total for entire Town: 2405 24.0% 14.0% 47.3% 14.7%				
Total for entire Town				
Total for typical				
Montclair.				
Ward in Montclair: -761 49.7% 3.8% 42.2% 4.3%				

Although this table is made on the basis only of the registered voters of the town, it gives, I think, a fair estimate of the distribution of population according to place of occupation. 52.7% of those employed, it is seen, give their place where they are engaged as out of Bloomfield; of these 24% go to New York. Practically all of these 'commuters' are engaged in business, clerical or professional work. Those who go to Newark are about equally divided between this sort of work and industrial work. Those engaged at home include the factory workers, local tradesman and their help, gardeners, coachmen, etc. Those engaged elsewhere in the county are practically all industrial workers. The other towns, as has been mentioned,

provide their quota in return to Bloomfield.

By referring to the map, it will be seen that the districts having the largest percentage of New York 'commuters' are those near the centre of the town and the railroads, - 1:2, 1:3, and 2:1; (I have every reason to believe that 1:1 is classified about like 1:2). These districts contain the business centre, where the electric lines cross, the principal railroad stations of both roads, the old green, bordered by old houses and crowned at the head by the old church, (#778), with most of the other churches, and the largest of the town's schools. 1:2 with the eastern half of 2:1 is a relatively new residential section, ~~which~~ a large factor in building up which was the location of a new railroad station in the neighborhood early in the nineties.

The districts with the smallest percentages of 'commuters' are (1) 2:2, which is a district containing four large factories, with two working-class districts, one of which, a Polish colony, of a number of years' standing, is relatively prosperous. Practically all of the Polish people work in the mills. They have their own church, (#100), and a large public school provides educational opportunities for their children. (2), 2:3, the agricultural district of which only a small part is shown on the map; this district, without direct communication to New York, has naturally only a very small number of commuters. (3), districts ^{and 3:4,} 3:3, in which ~~are~~ most of the factories of the town are located, are mostly occupied with working-class houses, the streets and houses neat and self-respecting. This region has a business centre of its own, shown near the bottom edge of the map, - near the railroad station - and a church. The extension of the branch railroad through the district was a large factor in its industrial development; it will be observed that the two largest factories in town are situated at the junction of this branch with the D.L. & W.R.R., where trans

portation facilities are doubled.

Conversely, these districts have the highest percentage of local workers, mostly factory workers and laborers.

In the percentages of those whose occupation is in Newark, it is interesting to observe that the highest figures, both in percentage and absolutely, lie in the districts 1:3 and 3:4, situated in the southeast corner of the town contiguous to Newark and traversed by the electric line to that place. This fact suggests the importance of the lines of communication in determining social groupings even over a limited area, where the differences in advantage seem relatively slight.

A comparison of the Bloomfield with the Montclair percentages will indicate, as has been suggested before, the superiority of the former community as a 'commuting' town. The percentage with occupation in New York, while only a rough estimate, indicate a far higher number of men in the more attractive suburb who go to the city each day. There is a correspondingly small number given for those with occupation in Newark; as compared with Bloomfield. This is partly due to the fact that Montclair is fifteen minutes or more further from Newark by trolley than is Bloomfield; indeed it takes practically as long to go from Montclair to Newark by electric road as to New York by steam.

We next take up the distribution of population according to occupations, regardless of the location of the work. The figures (for Bloomfield) are taken from the State Census of 1905:-

Professions.....	412
Commercial.....	981
Skilled laborers....	1968
Unskilled laborers..	873
Farmers.....	77
All others.....	4886

This classification is made without distinction of sex or age, and only of those persons who can be definitely classified. It will be seen that the "all others" must include women who are mistresses of homes, as well as young clerks and apprentices. Taking now simply those who are classified as adults and computing the percentages of this total for each of the occupational classifications given, comparing these percentages with the same towns compared above, we get the following figures:-

Occupation.	Bldd.	Montclair.	G.Ridge.	Philbg.	Millville.
Professions.	9.6%	8.9%	10.9%	4.0%	4.0%
Commercial.	22.7%	27.0%	32.8%	7.9%	4.2%
Skilled lab.	45.7%	20.7%	10.9%	50.0%	59.0%
Unskilled.	20.2%	40.0%	45.4%	38.0%	30.0%
Farmers.	1.5%	0.3%	0.0%	0.2%	2.8%

The differences between the suburban towns and towns outside the metropolitan district in the matter of occupations are here rather strikingly brought out. The high percentages of professional and commercial people in Bloomfield, Montclair and Glen Ridge, as compared with Phillipsburg and Millville, is due, of course, to a large number of persons with offices or businesses in New York or Newark. The figures for the outside towns, on the other hand, represent merely the local normal demands. The difference may be said to represent with fair accuracy the artificial increase in the suburban towns of these occupational classes of the population. The higher percentages in Glen Ridge as compared with Bloomfield and Montclair are due to the fact that this is a highly exclusive and almost purely residential suburb with practically no local business; a community of 'commuters' and for 'commuters'.

The "skilled laborers" include mostly the factory-workers, and Bloomfield's predominance as compared with these neighboring suburbs is indicated by the figures. It has not so high a proportion

tion, it will be seen however, as a manufacturing town like Millville, with no 'commuting' population at all.

The unskilled labor presumably includes domestic servants, and here Glen Ridge's pre-eminence, as we might expect, is indicated, with Montclair a close second, and Bloomfield much lower.

Development of Industry and Communication:-

The region now known as Essex County has been settled for nearly 250 years, emigrants having first come there in 1666 from the Puritan settlements in Connecticut. The village of Newark was laid out on the banks of the Passaic by these sturdy New Englanders, and the "woodland, upland and meadow" behind the town was gradually taken up during the next century as homestead farms. By 1700, there were 60 houses in the district which later became Bloomfield Township, occupying tracts of 80-100 acres, mostly along the streams. The houses were scattered along the "Old Road", (see map), and up into the "Morris Neighborhood". A few years later Dutch families coming in from Bergen County on the northwest settled the northern part of the township, that community which we have spoken of as rural and still out of communication relatively with the rest of the town. In both sections many of the old houses still remain, and not a few families are living on the ancestral lands, now grown wealthy through the dividing of the farms into town blocks and sites for the incomers from the city.

The eighteenth century was a period of slow growth, clearing of land and pioneer farming. There was a small market for produce in Newark, (in 1800 still a town of only 4000 people), but for the most part, the life of the small scattered rural community was that of the Puritan pioneer in New England, self-sufficing, sternly religious and individualistic. The families of the

district all attended the Newark Church, until in 1796, a large church was built in what is now Bloomfield, and a fine common laid out in front of it. (The church is indicated on the map by #778, and the common by the green rectangle). The church seems to have been built with a rather rare spirit of co-operation and sacrifice, and under able pastors soon became a centre and nucleus of community life. The church was given the name of the Bloomfield Church, after a distinguished Jerseyman of the day, and the name soon became applied to the entire district, including all the five present towns of Montclair, Glen Ridge, Bloomfield, Belleville and Nutley. This region, comprising 13000 acres was set off as Bloomfield Township in 1812, and the political life of the community began. At this time the population of the new township was less than 3000.

Communication with the outside world and industry within the community now began to develop with increasing rapidity. Grist-mills and sawmills had been built along the streams, which were dammed to furnish water-power. A sawmill had been in existence in the "Morris Neighborhood" as early as 1702. Now the development of communication began to stimulate further enterprise. In 1806 the turnpike, (on the map, marked "To Newark"), was opened running diagonally across the town, a quarter of a mile south of the green. Around the intersection of this road with the "Old Road", as it was called, to Newark, grew up a little centre of stores, which soon came to be known as "Bloomfield Centre", and as it is to this day. The new turnpike was an important factor in the development of the district, for it opened up a large tract of territory back of the mountain, and became a much-travelled highway for freight and produce. The centre became an important stage-post, and the general stores there and at West Bloomfield, now Montclair Centre, made their proprietors prosperous. The demand

demand for wagons at this time is said to have created an extensive wagonmaking industry in the township.

During the first forty years of the century village life grew rapidly. Manufactures began to develop, particularly in the eastern section, with its water-power and river highway. Tanneries and paper-mills predominated during this period. In 1839, an English weaver established a woolen spinning and weaving mill (on map, c415), on Third River, which developed later into one of the town's largest and most prosperous industries. In the absence of cheap coal, the making of charcoal was an extensive industry of this period. The town had its share of the Irish immigration of the thirties. The population between 1820-30 increased thirty per cent.

The farmers began to show enterprise too, and the peach and apple orchards were set out and distilleries built which were to make the district famous for its "Newark brandy and cider, in which" a large export trade was developed during the next thirty years, thousands of barrels being shipped from the township every year.

Communication at this time was by stage-coach to Newark, whence New York could be reached by stage-coach across the meadows or by boat around through the bays. The village had in no sense begun yet to feel the influence of the city. In 1831, the Morris Canal, connecting the Hudson with the Delaware River and the Lehigh coal regions, was completed, running through Bloomfield. An impetus was given to manufacturing, and Bloomfield soon became known as a manufacturing village. At this time we find in the township, - 6 grist mills, 2 cotton, 5 sawmills, 4 copper rolling mills, 3 paper mills, 1 paint factory, 2 calico print works, 3 woolen mills several shoe factories, and 17 merchants. At the same time, it must be remembered that these plants were very small, the entire

capital invested not exceeding \$400,000. In 1834, the industrial directory for Bloomfield village, gives, - population 1600, 250 dwellings, 2 hotels, an academy and boarding school, 4 common schools, 2 stores, 3 sawmills, 1 copper rolling mill, 1 calico and print works, and 1 tannery. In 1840, after the canal had been in operation about ten years, we find, - 3 paper mills, 1 cotton mill, 2 woolen mills, 1 dyeing mill, 1 fulling mill, 1 copper rolling mill, 1 button factory, 2 grist and 2 sawmills; the combined capital of these plants, however, is said not to have exceeded \$111,000. Bloomfield became an important distributing centre on the canal, and a large boatyard for the manufacture of canal-boats existed there for a while. There were large general stores at the locks and the inclined plane, for supplying the boatmen. The canal carried an immense traffic for thirty years, when it was killed by railroad competition and absorbed by the Lehigh Valley R.R. It continued however to carry coal, and cheap coal meant the success of the town as a manufacturing centre.

In 1839, the eastern half of the township, which had grown into a separate community of 2400 people along the banks of the river, was formed into Belleville Township. The population of Bloomfield proper was still largely composed of the old stock, the descendants of the early settlers. Indeed, the Register of the old church for 1835 shows more than one third of the congregation and practically all the elders bearing the names of the six leading settlers who had taken up farms in the district before 1700. The church continued to be the centre of the village life. It was sternly Calvinistic, and the records are full of the visits of God to his people. In many minds the history of the community might have been written - and indeed was - in terms of the religious

revivals that took place in the Bloomfield Church.

In 1835, Newark was connected with New York by steam railroad, and the first step towards bringing Bloomfield into the orbit of the city was taken. No immediate influx of population occurred, but an enterprising resident, foreseeing the possibilities with keener eye than any one else in the town, bought, in the early forties, a large farm, lying between the "Broad Street" and the canal, east of the green, and began to cut streets through it and advertise lots for sale. The project was known through the village as "Ward's Folly", and the temerity of the ambitious promoter was loudly assailed. But instead of becoming bankrupt, he sold many of his lots, and made enough to invest profitably in business in New York. He gave up his local business, and commenced going into the city every day, driving to Newark and taking the railroad in from there. His example was imitated; the more enterprising families began to divide up their ancestral lands, cut streets and build houses, and give up their local business or farming for employment in New York or Newark. This was the process whereby the more enterprising scions of the old stock were able to become wealthy and yet without leaving their native village. This was the economic foundation of that "native aristocracy" of which we have spoken above. The less enterprising or fortunate of the old stock stuck to their local occupations, and gradually, as the other class became wealthier and an invidious prestige became attached to business in the city, these local families, though of the same stock and traditions, sank into a position of genuine social inferiority. The new native 'commuting' class kept its spiritual roots very much at home, however, was content with selling its land rather than with improving it, and it took the influx of newcomers

really to initiate progress. The new aristocracy, with its centre in the affairs of the old church, kept its political grip on the town for many a year, for with the ownership of the land, the direction of the church and the traditions in its keeping it was almost impregnable.

When the railroad came to Bloomfield in 1856, there were perhaps a score of natives who had been 'commuting' for several years, by way of Newark, and many more who had begun to go to Newark. The Newark and Bloomfield Railroad Company was formed in 1854 by a dozen local business and professional men. After long negotiations, an arrangement was effected with the Morris and Essex, which ran from Newark through the Oranges and Morris County, and the road was built to connect with the latter railroad at Newark. The cars of both roads were drawn by horses through the streets of Newark and came into Jersey City attached to the trains of the New Jersey Railroad, now the Pennsylvania. The new line ran from Newark to West Bloomfield, a distance of six miles, and even after the Morris and Essex obtained its own right of way into Hoboken through the Erie tunnel, passengers from Bloomfield had to change cars at Newark. The effect of the opening of the railroad was not an immediate rush of settlers, although the population shows a gain for the decade 1850-60 of 41%. In fact the general trend from New York towards the suburbs had hardly begun, and the prejudice, at any rate, was strong against New Jersey on account of its Malaria and mosquitoes. When the influx did come it was to West Bloomfield, (Montclair), that it went. In 1856, this section of the township was thinly settled; the village contained only about thirty dwellings. By 1861, scarcely a dozen families had moved out from New York as permanent settlers. But these families, as a member of them quite accurately has described them, were

"persons of superior mental and moral culture", and of a distinctly propagandist spirit. The first sign of the new spirit was the change of name of the village from West Bloomfield to Montclair, a move which was greeted with considerable derision by the conservative natives of Bloomfield, but which had an advertising value of some importance.

It soon became evident that the newcomers were determined to "boom" their village. A definite campaign was entered upon. One of the pioneers tells in a book of lively reminiscences how he and his colleagues talked Montclair day and night to their friends in New York until they were persuaded to join the suburban rush. The superior altitude, fine air, pure water, etc., of Montclair were advertised broadcast, with notable success. The increase of population for the whole town between 1860-70, was 55% and most of this went to Montclair.

The pioneers, however, soon became discontented with the railroad facilities. The fares were extortionate, the service ~~was~~ poor, and they objected to the delays in changing cars at Newark. One of the leaders suggested another railroad, and the idea, though seemingly quixotic, soon had the enthusiastic support of the entire village. The idea was first broached in 1866; a charter was obtained for a new road, and negotiations were begun with the New Jersey Midland and the Erie to build the road. The next move was the proposal of a bond issue by the town of Bloomfield of \$200,000 to help finance the road. The railroad, it seemed, would benefit only the people of Montclair, and the idea of building a railroad, not to speak of saddling the town with an enormous debt, all for the purpose of connecting a village of 2000 people, which already had a railroad, with New York, - this proved too much for the conservative Bloomfielders, who had already exhausted themselves building one railroad.

The project was defeated in town meeting. But the Montclair leaders were insistent, and a separation between the two communities was agreed upon. Montclair Township was formed from Bloomfield in 1869, the bonds were issued and the road built. It was finished in 1872, and the result in Montclair was an unparalleled boom. Real estate advanced at once several million dollars in value. Land bought in 1868 was sold in 1871 for more than five times its former value. Railroad rates were cut in two, the Newark and Bloomfield R.R. being forced to follow suit; the time of trains to New York was reduced thirty minutes each way; through service to New York introduced on the old road, and a rush of commuters to Montclair took place. The new road was sung in the annals of Montclair for many a day as the greatest single blessing that had ever come to Montclair. The railroad went bankrupt in the crash of '73, and the town had to bear the obligation and pay off bonds to the extent of \$90,000. But the audacity and initiative and local spirit which had manifested themselves at the outset were continued. By 1878 it boasted of many municipal improvements, - 40 miles of sidewalks, fine schools and clubs; a library; and a death rate one half that of the State of Massachusetts. Its promoters seem to have advertised it also as a summer resort, and many of its prominent residents are said to have come out first as summer boarders, and then bought property and made their permanent home there. Between 1870 and 1880 the population of the new town almost doubled, and in the next decade ~~xxxxx~~ the increase was 70%.

This process is told in detail, because it is typical to a greater or less degree of the building up of these suburban communities. Bloomfield, less favorably situated, experienced the boom in far less measure. Although between 1860-70 the population

increased 55%, the increase of the next decade was only 25%. It did not reap the benefit of the new railroad until later, when new stations were built in undeveloped portions of the town, and a systematic effort was made by the railroad itself to build up local traffic. After the Morris and Essex, and with it the Newark and Bloomfield Railroad, was taken over by the Lackawanna, and the Montclair Railway, or, as it was later called the New York and Greenwood Lake, was absorbed by the Erie, the service on the former was thought to be so superior, that for a time suburban development in the Second Ward was not furthered, the newcomers tending to settle and build about the Centre.

Montclair was practically a town made to order, while Bloomfield, already settled, had to pass through a long period of growth and improvement. The town in 1870 is described as still very primitive, - a big country village, with dirt roads, no sidewalks or curbs or street-lights or sewerage or city-water; the houses all ^{with} fences around them, the lawns ~~were~~ uncut; cows were ~~pastured~~ pastured on the Green, and every householder had, beside his cow, a small garden behind his house. The 'commuters', as they have ever been since, were considered the most industrious gardeners of them all. The process of transforming this village into a modern city of 15,000 people, a genuine suburb of the greatest metropolis in America, against the conservatism and economic interests of a native class, unusually tenacious, Puritanistic, with a long local tradition behind them, - this process furnishes the political issues of the town's development, and the background of its social changes.

The first 'boom' in real estate occurred about 1867, when a ~~tract~~ tract in the southwestern part of the town, in dist 3:2, (see map), was opened up; streets were cut, houses built for sale and rent. Building began also all through the centre of the town. The

expected influx did not come, however; much of the land was marshy and unhealthy, and it was only on the hill, in what is now Glen Ridge, that any considerable settlement sprang up.

An attempt was made about this time to establish a horsecar line to Newark; the tracks were laid, but the road was soon abandoned, because the route it was forced to take on account of the turnpike tolls was too roundabout and slow. In 1876, after the tolls were abolished, the Newark and Bloomfield street Railway company was formed, with tracks on the turnpike. Until the road was electrified, it could hardly be said to have been a factor in the town's development; the primitive cars became a local joke, and people continued to use the railroad to Newark.

About 1870, a 'development project' was started which in many ways proved decidedly disastrous for the town. The lake just south of the centre, (shown on the map in 3:3, where three streams meet), was drained by a land speculating company, for 'villa plots'. The lake had been a town attraction with boating and skating; it had provided a charming entry to the town, as seen from the railroad, but it had to succumb to the new mania for development. The company built two rows of hideous brick houses, and then went bankrupt in the panic of '73. Nothing was done with the land, and it remains to this day, a dreary flatland in the heart of the town, the first thing seen on approaching the main Bloomfield station by the railroad.. The draining was followed by ravages of mosquitoes and malaria which gave the town a reputation that lasted for twenty years or more. Just how much weight we should give this reputation as a factor making for the slow development of the town, it is impossible to say. The natural superiorities of the town on the mountain would doubtless have

been sufficient to put Bloomfield at a disadvantage, even with its lake.

Projects in other parts of the town were more successful. The tract called "Ward's Folly" had been pretty well built up by 1860; in the next decade, building was rapid in the district to the south. No new land boom struck the town for many years; building went on slowly along the principal streets. The gradual coming in of large factories in the extreme southern part of the town built up that section with workmen's cottages. The eastern part of the town along the canal began to be developed in the late eighties with small residences, mostly for 'commuters'. The districts 1:2 and the eastern part of 2:1 were built up rather rapidly about this time also. In the late nineties the hills were built on, with much more pretentious houses than the neighboring lower regions. So slight a difference in situation does it take, where competition is so keen, to determine social differences.

The following table will indicate the progress of the town in its process of suburbanization, and serve to place some of the facts which will be discussed in greater detail later:-

- 1868. Brookside School. (map, marked 1)
- 1869. Westminster Presbyterian Church: an offshoot of the old church, which had grown too large.
- 1871. Savings Bank.
- 1872. High School.
- 1873. Gas introduced.
- 1874. Bloomfield Library Association: failed.
- 1878. Parochial School.

- 1883. Hook and Ladder Co.
Centre School: (6 on map)
- 1884. Water pipes introduced.
- 1889. National Bank.
- 1890. Orange and Bloomfield Street Railway .
- 1892. Berkeley School. (4 on map).
- 1893. Sewer. \$50,000 bond issue..
- 1895. Building and Loan Association.
- 1898. Three new schools.
- 1900. Building and Loan Association.
Town incorporated.
- 1902. Library.
Board of Trade organized.
- 1904. Purchase of water system for \$90,000. Bond issue.
- 1905. First great Fourth of July celebration.
- 1909. Park project to reclaim the drained lake. \$52,000 appropriated by town, in co-operation with county.
- 1910. Railroad Improvements, ~~1891-1892~~ (D.L.& W.). \$20,000 spent by town, \$750,000 by railroad.
- 1912. Centennial celebration.
- 1913. New High School.

It should be kept in mind, in connection with this table, that these dates represent only the introduction of improvements, and that the introduction throughout the town and particularly the outlying districts was only a very gradual process. The following table, taken from the Federal Census of 1903 will give an idea of the progress of the town in comparison with other municipalities:-

BLOOMFIELD MONTCLAIR MILLVILLE PHILLIPSBURG

Taxes.	\$120590	277110	58186	60824
Total receipts.	172339	366284	74656	97602
Valuation of property.	5121125	10,908,700	4,666,370	4,574,472
Basis of Assessment.	60%	50%	75%	50%
Bonded indebtedness.	291000	545500	51000	167800
Expended on roads and sanitation.	22827	46189	15658	22954
On education.	64626	121691	29912	37932
Streets in miles.	34	70	70	
Macadam.	30	50	0	6.5
Unpaved.	4	20	0	9.4
Gravel.	0	0	70	0
Brick.	0	0	0	2.4
Sewers in mi.	30	47	0.2	6.7
Population.	10668	15406	11363	12632

The superiority of Montclair over Bloomfield is indicated by practically all the receipts and expenditures being double those of the latter town, although the former had 50% greater population. The valuation of Bloomfield property is shown to be greater than that of the towns outside the metropolitan district although its population is smaller than theirs. The amount spent on education is also much larger, and the miles of improved streets and sewers as well, indicating the relatively great degree to which the process of suburbanization in Bloomfield had already gone by 1903.

The Effect of the Process of Suburbanization upon Local Politics:-

Political interests and activities in the suburban town are much affected by the proximity of the city, and its encroachments upon the town. We have mentioned the fact that political struggles tend to turn about the question of local improvements, and have noticed the crisis which resulted in the breaking away of Montclair as a political unit, over the question of bonding the town in order to build a new railroad. This is a type of the political issues that begin to arise as soon as communication with the city has been developed, and a sufficiently large number of 'commuters' has come into the town to be influential in looking after their new interests. And those interests are likely to be opposed to the immediate interests of the old land-owners in the town. As streets are opened, new districts developed, houses built, there is much to be done in the way of grading, filling, and providing the houses with water, light, etc. The new-comers, accustomed in the city to paved walks, curbing, city water, sewer, street lights, and paved roads, expect to gain these same advantages in their new home. The natives, upon whom the burden of taxation must in large part, or at least immediately, fall, protest and the issue is joined. In Montclair, as we have seen, the village was built up so rapidly and the influx of newcomers was so large and of so vigorous and enterprising a character, that the natives were overwhelmed, and the commuters' had everything their own way. So that by 1876 it was already a 'model' town, with many improvements that did not come to its neighbors until much later. In Bloomfield, the native stock was so much more tenacious of its rights, the influx so much more gradual, that the ground had to be fought over every inch of the way. The old inhab-

itants, owners of the real estate, feared the taxes which would fall on them, and dreaded to saddle the town with a heavy bonded indebtedness; while the newcomers, still comparatively landless, were perhaps all the more eager for improvements, since the burden on themselves would be relatively light.

Government had been by town meeting, in the New England fashion, and local affairs had been carried on by a town committee in a desultory way, with the expenditure of as little as possible. The appropriations in 1874, for instance, ~~were~~ were as follows:- Repair of roads, - \$6000; for the poor, - \$2500; contingencies, - \$3500; schools, - \$4 per scholar; crosswalks, - \$500; In justice to the committee it should be said that it was unable to institute large improvements without legislative permission. In 1873, the 'progressives' obtained a special bill from the Legislature, permitting the town to make a contract for lighting the streets, to map out existing streets, open new ones, establish grades, curbs, gutters, pave streets, and issue improvement bonds to cover the work. Under this bill, gas lights were introduced in the centre of the town, but water supply and sewers were secured only after a longer fight. The situation was complicated by the fact that special legislation was needed for each one of these new projects, and even after it was obtained, litigation was likely to arise over who should pay for the improvements, the property owners who were benefitted or the town in general. It was not until the Town Act of 1895 was passed by the Legislature, outlining carefully the steps by which improvements should be initiated and carried through that the matter was put on a stable foundation. This act provided that the initiatory suggestion might come either by petition of owners or of any freeholders, or by unani-

mous resolution of the council, with proper provision for hearings and objections; the work was then done by the town and the cost assessed upon the property owner.

Just before this time, this matter of improvements produced one of the greatest crises in the history of the town, no less than the secession of its wealthiest and most attractive section. This region on the hill, now known as Glen Ridge, had been built up largely through the efforts of a real estate promoter of ability and taste, who had set about purposely to make the district an exclusive residential section for well-to-do families from New York. His personal acquaintance and connections enabled him as soon to build up the region with a remarkably homogeneous population of the pure 'commuter' type. All were from New York, and either professional or well-to-do business men. The founder erected an attractive clubhouse, and arranged things so that all who built houses in the district became members of the club. Many people from Bloomfield proper joined also, and the social interests of the community were gradually centred about the brilliant clubhouse on the hill. There existed at this time the utmost good feeling between the two sections, although they were actually so different in character, the core of the Bloomfield society being the old families, while Glen Ridge was entirely new. A strong community spirit soon developed in the hill district; efforts were made to keep it an exclusive park-like suburb. Stores and saloons were excluded, a library and church were built, and a town improvement association kept the district in order.

The district gradually came to think of itself as a separate community, and the break between the sections inevitable. For they were too unlike, - the ambitious, slightly 'snobbish' set on the

hill, and the heterogeneous society of natives, factory-workers and thrifty, industrious bourgeoisie down in the valley.

In the early nineties, the political conflict became acute. It arose, of course, over the perennial question of improvements. Glen Ridge contended that it was not getting its share of them. The money which it paid in taxes, it was seeing expended in Bloomfield rather than on the hill. Its leaders began to lay down the dictum that "every cent they paid they wanted spent right before their very doors." They demanded also a complete system of lateral sewers, and macadamized streets, which could only be obtained by bonding the township heavily again. There was conflict on the water and sidewalk question; personal feeling developed in the Town Committee; the Glen Ridge representatives were snubbed. A bill was promptly presented to the Legislature in 1895, incorporating the Borough of Glen Ridge, and the measure passed. The Bloomfield authorities tried to stop the proceeding by injunction, but were outwitted. The new borough promptly proceeded to give itself all the things which it had wanted, built a fine schoolhouse, organized a fire department and continued its successful growth, considerably to the chagrin of Bloomfield people. The amount of ill-feeling developed by the separation was very large; the situation was quite different from the separation of Montclair twenty-five years before. Then each side had considered the other a good riddance, and each considered itself benefited by the separation. In this case, the Bloomfield leaders realized that they had lost their most prosperous and attractive section, largely through their own inertia and conservatism. The conflict took an invidious turn. The secession was freely attributed in Bloomfield to the pride and snobbery of the hill people. The natives resented strongly the implied superiority

of Glen Ridge. They gradually dropped out of the ^{club} ~~club~~, the Glen Ridge people gradually turned from the local tradesman, and the two communities, which had been originally one in feeling soon fell apart into two alien and, as far as Bloomfield is concerned, jealous groups. Glen Ridge turned more and more to its neighbor on the west for inspiration. and Bloomfield people, although the two communities are so intermingled that it is impossible to trace any boundaries, feel themselves complete strangers in its club and church affairs.

An issue which tends to make its perennial appearance in the suburban town adjacent to the city is that of annexation to the adjoining municipality. The metropolis, in other words, not content with drawing out the young blood of the community, and loading upon it its own overflow, at length devours it bodily. There is a suction which begins to operate as soon as the smaller community becomes definitely a suburban town. The movement comes to be ~~thought~~ thought of as inevitable; it is spoken of as "bound to come sooner or later", both by the inhabitants of the smaller and the larger town. Those of the metropolis begin to have a patriotic pride in the anticipation of their "Greater City" of the future; while the people of the smaller community, as their interests become more and more bound up with the metropolis, and as their taxes and ~~indebtedness~~ indebtedness mount with the ever-increasing demand for improvements, contemplate the relief through annexation if without enthusiasm, at least without emotion.

In this case, we have to deal with the annexation of the town to Newark, but the process is the same in the case of the towns adjacent to New York itself, and is therefore typical. The issue came to a head in 1903-4 after being discussed for several years. Indeed, we read that an academic discussion of the question ~~was~~

occurred as far back as 1875, in a debate before a literary society. The initiation of the present movement is lost in darkness. Charges were freely made that it was part of a systematic effort made by the Public Service Corporation, which owns the public utilities of the entire county, to obtain perpetual franchises, which it could get easily from the city of Newark, in the neighboring small municipalities, which were in the habit of exacting annoying conditions. At any rate, the project had the almost unanimous support of the "moulders of public opinion" in the town. A bill was drawn up secretly with the intention of having it rushed through the Legislature without a referendum. But the editor of the local paper got wind of the matter, raised a big hue and cry about it, and began to organize local patriotism against it. Committees were sent by both sides to the state Capitol, public meetings of citizens were held to protest against the prospective merging of the town with a corrupt machine-ridden city. The bill was finally passed with the referendum, and a campaign of great virulence was waged in the town. The arguments used by the defenders of the project were many, - the town was drifting into bankruptcy, with ever higher and higher taxes, it could not borrow the money needed for improvements: all this burden would be shouldered by the wealthy city; The thing had to come some time, so why not now when so many local difficulties would be obviated; it would raise the value of real estate, (and few people saw the naivete of this argument in view of the fact that the ~~most~~ important backers of the enterprise would be among the chief gainers by this rise); and finally the argument was used in with

telling effect in a town where, in spite of some urban sophistication religious differences still continued to be very real, it would save the town from the catholics, who were plotting to get control of the town offices, and particularly of that palladium of religious liberties, the Board of Education. These arguments were used again and again by the leaders, but the mass of the people turned against them and defeated the measure heavily at the polls. The class divisions which have been mentioned above were clearly brought out in this conflict. The professional men, - with the notable exception of the Superintendent of Schools, a self-confessed radical, who lost his position soon after the election, - the descendants of the old families and the new 'commuters' whom they had assimilated into their ranks, were all for the project; the local business men, who as a class busy themselves in local politics, have a local patriotism and a sort of feeling of vested interest in the town, with the less well-to-do commuters' were against it; the factory-workers were largely neutral. The leaders, who had thought to have the whole matter done quietly, were chagrined and indeed amazed at the storm and resistance that met them. The local newspaper kept up a constant warfare against them, and produced avowals from them that they had no assurances of what provisions for the needs of the town in the way of fire, police, schools, etc., the city would make, nor what its policy would be on the ever-vexing excise question. When this was out, the game was lost. Indeed the whole basis of the conflict seems singularly unsubstantial. The psychology is not easy to understand. The matter seems to have been

fought out on both sides largely on a basis of sentiment. Having been entered into in rather a vague way, perhaps at the suggestion of learned legal corporation counsel, whose far-seeing eye looked at the matter from the broad interests of the county, the 'ruling class' of the town, with a vague feeling of certain advantages ~~xxxxxxxxxx~~ accruing to vested interests, persisted in the enterprise stubbornly, when it met with resistance, and brought up post facto alarms and arguments to justify what at first was merely a nebulous desire to avoid immediate municipal difficulties and perhaps satisfy eminent counsel. Though the measure has been defeated twice, everyone feels that the annexation is inevitable, sooner or later; but this feeling has a certain advantageous effect in ~~xxx~~ sharpening the care with which those who are interested in maintaining the autonomy of the town attend to its administration. The annexation crisis gave the coup de grace to the political power of the old native leaders. Having been defeated on so important a measure, on which they had staked their all, they were thereafter not taken seriously as political factors, and although they have continued to participate they have belonged usually to the losing faction.

The administration for the last twenty five years has shown an ever-increasing progressiveness. The old town committee, as ~~xx~~ has been intimated, was composed of respectable conservative citizens, usually natives, who, in the matter of improvements, were constantly on the defensive. Political contests usually turned upon the election of more progressive elements, usually 'commuters' to the town committee who would force new appropriations and bond issues.

Large appropriations were made at times, as in 1888, when the gas-lighting system was improved, and in 1892, when \$25000 was expended on roads, but as a rule, appropriations did not tend to increase in proportion to the population.

The defection of Glen Ridge was a sobering experience. It showed the town how much there was still to be done; it showed the dissatisfaction with which an element of the town, which every one had secretly respected as the most enlightened and admirable, viewed the prevalent conservatism of the 'ruling class'. The result of this crisis was the incorporation of the township in 1900 under the new Town Act, with greater powers of incurring indebtedness, initiating improvements, and extending the town offices.

This was followed by a small revolution in the distribution of political power in the town. At the first election for Mayor under the new form of government, one of the wealthy members of the 'ruling class' was defeated ~~for~~ by a boss carpenter, much to the surprise and consternation of the old-time leaders of the town. At the next election, it is true, the older element got back part of its power in the election of one of their popular younger men, a man of admirable public spirit and fairness, but ~~th~~ the other members of the council were 'commuters' or local business men, of a progressive type, determined to bring the town, even at the cost of heavy taxes, up to the level which the neighboring ~~ham~~ Borough had attained in its short life of five years. These admissistrations were enough to show the progressive trend, and it may be that the old leaders were sincere in fearing the extremes

of indebtedness to which the passion for improvement might lead the town, or it may have been that the old leaders, recognizing that their influence was waning, were willing to spike the guns of the new elements by destroying the power of anybody any longer to run the town's affairs.

After the annexation question was settled, problems of municipal ownership began to arise. The first venture was the purchase of the water system, in which many of the old leaders were interested financially. The familiar charges of 'graft' were brought against the members of the Council in connection with this sale. The members of the Council said that these leaders had assured them that the water company would not take a cent less than \$150,000 for the plant, and since it was useless to try to get better terms, this offer was made. After a campaign by the local newspaper, which considered the price exorbitant, the matter was submitted to referendum vote of the people and defeated at the polls. The Council then made an offer of \$90,000, which to every one's amazement was accepted, and ratified by another referendum vote. The old leaders then made the charge that the Council had made the original high offer in order to obtain a "rake-off" from the company. An investigation took place, but nothing was proved. The Public Service Corporation, which ever lurks in the background of local and county politics, and is popularly, and perhaps justly, suspected of having its hand in every political affair of more than local significance, was implicated, but the air continued to be very misty.

These incidents are interesting as indicating the spreading to the suburban town of those political issues and problems which we think of as peculiarly metropolitan, problems of corporation control, municipal ownership, etc., and as showing the cleavage between the native elements and the new urban, resourceful politicians. The Councilmen of these years were bold, shrewd lawyers and city business men, who were probably rather in politics for its 'sporting' interest than simply to line their pockets with 'graft'. Their appropriations were large, and this, combined with the hints of scandal over the water system purchase served to discredit them with the public. In 1908, their places were taken in the Council by local business men, who were inclined to look askance both on the old leaders, and the new who had been under fire. This administration, however, was wrecked on the rock of special privilege. The local newspaper observed certain building privileges being given to ~~bank~~ in the town, and certain land-deals being made with one of the old leaders over sites for a new public park, and made a great stir. In addition, extensive railroad improvements were put through in 1910, with ~~much~~ of such ensuing litigation over the vacating ^{of} streets, etc. These issues, with a slight dissatisfaction with some of the terms of the railway contract, brought the Mayor to a disastrous defeat along with his friends in the Council. The new Mayor was a Jewish lawyer, of about half a dozen year's residence in town, a man of much the type that had been discredited in the water affair. The 'old guard' put up a heroic fight against him; after their candidate the then Mayor, had been defeated at the primaries they went so far as to support a Catholic, in an attempt to draw

support from all classes and factions. The council is now composed almost entirely of local business men, but the Mayor dominates it to a certain extent, and represents the more aggressive 'commuter' in his demand for improvements. Each administration has to satisfy the double demand, ~~as~~ for improvements on the one hand, and lower taxes on the other. The annexation issue tends to be raised as soon as either is neglected.

With the entrance into political affairs of what we may call the 'amateur professional politician', the situation becomes more complicated. Where we had before the natives against the 'commuters', we now have four elements, - the local business men with the 'good fellows', who want liberal treatment on the excise question; the 'old guard', comprising the native leaders and their 'assimilations', who desire safe, orderly progress, not too expensive; the bourgeois 'commuters', tending to be fanatical on the excise question, and to begrudge lavish expenditures on high schools and parks; and the new citybred 'amateur professional politician', interested in playing the political game for what it is worth. In the 1910 election, the second and third classes were plainly combined against the others, but in 1912, the third class supported the politicians ~~and~~ against the other two, and the Mayor was re-elected.

The effect on politics has been thus to make new and unstable combinations, to introduce city issues, and a competition in improvements, besides keeping ever before the eyes of the people and the politicians both, the bogey of annexation.

The Effect on Industry and Business:-

The effect of the proximity of the metropolis on local industries has been, as suggested in the introduction, highly stimulating. The older factory sites along the streams were gradually bought up by city concerns, and enlarged and improved; or else the local management reorganized its plant, and enlarged its facilities. New factories have been built, especially in the extreme southern part of the town. The building of a new factory usually means an influx of factory-workers into the town, although this is not necessarily true, as a large proportion of the workers live in the neighboring towns, coming into Bloomfield every day. Where the industrial plant has moved out bodily from New York, as several have done, it has of course brought along its whole labor force. An example of this is the Westinghouse plant, (o1400 on the map), which came about seven years ago, with a very large force of skilled labor.

Several other large factories have come to the town during the last fifteen years, and for the double reason that cheap houses were not built fast enough and that the new factories have been built in the most thickly populated section of the town, there are already signs of some congestion of population. The following table shows the ratio of house to family in Bloomfield and other towns, according to the 1905 State Census and the 1910 Federal Census:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>Bloomfield.</u>	<u>Montclair.</u>	<u>G.Ridge.</u>	<u>Phil'b'g.</u>	<u>Millville.</u>
1905.	.88	.91	.95	.96	.97
1910.	.84	.80	—	.96	.97

It will be seen that the ratio for the towns outside the metropolitan district is relatively high, and moreover that it has not decreased in the last five years; while the figures for Bloomfield and Montclair have decreased considerably. The high ratio for Glen Ridge, is of course due the fact that it is an exclusively residential community of well-to-do 'commuters'. The process can be witnessed in Bloomfield where small two story houses inhabited in the past by single families, are being altered so that two are accommodated in each house, each family occupying a floor.

On the other hand, there are counter tendencies which make for providing each family with its own home. Building and loan associations, which receive deposits and on the security of the plot of land lend money to build the house, are flourishing in the town. This form of investment is very popular with the more prosperous wage-earners, and has done considerable towards developing these sections and assimilating the newcomers. There are four such associations in the town, and to them is partly due the reputation of Bloomfield, according to the Report of the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics of the State, as having working-class housing conditions as good as any in the State.

The largest factories at present are manufactories of the following goods:- Rubber, safety pins, paper, hats, cream separators, castings, labels, brushes, woollens, drugs, electric lamps, electric machinery, and burlap. The map shows 18 factories employing each more than 25 persons. The following table shows the increase in manufacturing of the last ten years:-

<u>Manufactures.</u>	<u>1900.</u>	<u>1905.</u>	<u>1910.</u>
No. of establishments.	39	33	45
Capital invested.	\$3,194,468	\$4,177,405	\$7,769,000
Salaried officials.	142	261	443
Salaries.	\$221,239	\$314,208	\$591,000
Wage-earners.	1612	1893	2957
Wages paid.	\$770,145	\$1,024,309	\$1,301,000
Cost of materials.	\$1,705,600	\$1,750,389	\$2,301,000
Value of products.	\$3,370,924	\$4,645,483	\$5,895,000

Average hours of labor in factories of town. 9.5. (day); 54.3. (wk)
 " " " " " " " State. 9.71 " 55.54 "

Lowest average yearly earnings in town.	\$374.22
Highest " " " " "	671.07
Average " " " "	530.26
" " " " State.	531.94

As regards business, the drawing of a community into the metropolitan field means, of course, the slow decay of its local trade. The superior attractiveness and variety of the goods of all kinds, combined with the cheap transportation, allow the big stores of the city to compete successfully with the local merchant, who has a struggle even to hold his own. The large general stores, of which there had been several in the town, were, by 1890, a thing of the past. The local storekeepers, outside of those who supply the food staples, can only exist

by providing small indispensables which it is not worth a trip to the city to procure. A couple of small dry-goods stores exist in the town, but practically all of the shopping of this sort is done in Newark. The town has the advantage of both Newark and New York, and of a competition between the Newark stores and the New York stores, the latter always threatening by their superior size and attractiveness to drain away trade from the Newarkers as the latter have drained it from Bloomfield.

Even the trade of the butchers and grocers in town is smaller than what it would be outside of the reach of the city, for many people, particularly of the poorer classes, do their marketing at the big markets in Newark and New York. Such things as ready-made clothing, (except of very cheap grade), books, musical instruments, etc., cannot be procured at all in this town of 15,000 people.

The great complaint of the local tradesman and upper classes against the wage-earners is that "they make their money ^{here} in town and then do not spend it here". In a sense, the attraction of the great department stores and markets is as much aesthetic as commercial. If a person wants to buy a thing, he boards the car at once for Newark, without stopping hardly to think, or make any attempt to find out, whether the article can be procured in Bloomfield. On Saturday nights, in particular, crowds swarm to Newark to shop in the brightly lighted stores and markets. There is a thrill and lure about this sort of thing with which the local stores, with all their power, could scarcely compete.

A town like Montclair, with a large wealthy class making use of immediate luxuries and willing to pay the retail price for them can support a varied local business more in the style of the city; but a town like Bloomfield, with a large wage-earning class, to whom the saving of a few cents means something, cannot. The result is that the shops, with the exception of the butchers', grocers', druggists', coal ^{dealers,} ~~dealers,~~ lumber dealers', etc., are small and mean, and mainly in the hands of foreigners, many of them Jews and Italians, who make a bare living. The competition of the city, of course, makes it a very problematical venture to a young man of any social standing to start a business at home; and a very distinct social stigma becomes attached to young persons who do engage in business or accept employment in town. The implication is that they are either unambitious or not good enough for a city position. When I referred to the local business man in politics, I meant the older, firmly established, solidly respectable type of butcher or grocer, who has grown up with the town. Their social status is distinctly inferior to the 'commuter,' but they are able to wield political power and capture the local offices through their knowledge of and interest in the town. As business men, however, their places do not tend to be filled by the younger men of the town, but their interests are often bought out either by large city corporations spreading their business throughout the county, or by strangers, often country youths, who make the suburban town a sort of stepping stone to the city.

Local business thus by no means keeps pace with the growth in population; the competition of the city tends always to reduce it to a minimum.

The Effect on Social Life and Amusements:-

As the town has been unable to compete with the city in the way of business, so has it been able to compete with it in the way of amusements. The attraction of the city has proved so strong that facilities for amusement and recreation and general social life have by no means kept pace with the growth of population. All classes have felt this gradual sterilization of local social life, and the process is well marked.

Taking up first the social life of the native "aristocracy", "society", that is, in the popular sense, it is needless to say that up to the beginning of the process of suburbanization, it was almost entirely centred in the churches. Bloomfield, as we have suggested, was a very religious village, with much of the New England Puritan spirit, and the churches were the social centres of the community life. After the influx of commuters and the establishment of the Glen Ridge Club, there seems to have been an era when a rather busy society life was carried on. A club of young men was organized in Bloomfield in the eighties, which built a clubhouse, the first and only institution of its kind in the town. It is said to have created a small revolution by the institution of regular dances, and though it was frowned upon by the most respectable families for a while, the "high society" of the town was at length converted, and drawn into the social whirl which revolved around it. The activity of the Glen Ridge Club stimulated social activity in Bloomfield, and about 1890 we hear of amateur theatrical societies, a singing society, and an orchestra, all of which gave frequent entertainments, characterized by some attempt at "style" and exclusiveness. ~~all~~

All these organizations have since disbanded, and have no successors. For such organizations depend either on a relatively large and homogeneous class who can support them both actively and financially, or else on democratic feeling which will include all classes. Both were lacking; for as more and more people came into the town who were, in the eyes of the "aristocracy", 'common' and 'ordinary', their own sense of isolation deepened and their initiative decayed. The defection of GlenRidge, which had been a great support, was a terrible blow, and the death of "society" institutions was speedy. The population that was left in Bloomfield were too evenly balanced in numbers, and too divergent in tastes and sympathies to co-operate in projects of intellectual, or artistic significance, and Bloomfield became the home of lost causes.

An attempt was made in the nineties to found a Y.M.C.A.; the site was bought, but it was impossible to get co-operation between the religious and social elements which were necessary to carry through the project. It was too closely identified with the Presbyterian Church; and here we come upon a factor which has been potent in preventing co-operation on large social lines such as this, - church jealousy. The strong opposition, too, of the powerful Baptist and Methodist churches to certain amusements was probably a factor also in defeating the project. And the town is without such an institution, or any similar club for young men to this very day. A rather ambitious clubhouse, erected by a wealthy citizen, primarily for his own sons, but open to the town, upon the payment of a fee, was also a failure. The middle class, split by church jealousies and prejudice against amusements, and

and doubtless in addition not really strong enough financially to support a large social institution was left to a great degree without either social life and amusements. They still find, to a large extent, their social life in the churches, while the working classes almost without exception go to the city for their recreation and pleasures.

The town has never had a theatre, and at no time has had more than one hall, and that a small one, where dances or entertainments, outside of the churches, could be held. Within the last year, two moving-picture houses have been established, but observation shows that they are largely attended by the more well-to-do. Newark on the other hand, which can be reached at a cost of five cents, provides every ordinary kind of amusement, while New York provides the stimulations which the most fastidious or refined could wish. The town simply cannot, therefore, compete in any way with the city in the matter of direct amusements, while in the matter of general social life the effect of the city is shown in the class differences which prevent co-operation in any large social way. People's eyes become, too, in a way, hypnotized by the glamor of the city. The simple local amusements seem tame, the society life seems unsophisticated besides the life of which they read in their city papers, and see with their own eyes. They go to the city and admire, but they do not bring the best of the city out to themselves; the city, in a sense, draws away their interest and zest, they do not nourish themselves from it. Bloomfield, for instance, has always had the reputation with its young people of being a "slow old town". The nearness of the city, however, has not been effectual in making it any less

"slow". It has provided the stimulations and amusements which the town itself has lacked, but it has not lent of its own power, and thus diminished the contempt in which ~~it is held~~ the town is held by its younger members.

In Montclair and Glen Ridge we find a different situation, due almost entirely to the different balance of classes. Glen Ridge, as we have seen, is a carefully selected community, of a homogeneous type, with well-to-do people and handsome homes, so that there is inducement to a brilliant social life. In their case, we can say that the city is actually brought out to them, instead of their being drained by the city. And Montclair, too, in spite of its large foreign element, has so preponderating a proportion of wealthy and cultivated people that it is able to reproduce, to an even greater extent, the desirable social, cultural atmosphere of the city. Only for its 'upper' classes, however; for as regards the rest the same lack of recreational facilities and social life is observable as in Bloomfield.

At the same time, the wealthy class in Montclair is able to take the initiative and lead the rest of the town in large social projects. It has both the means and the interest, to an extent far superior to that in Bloomfield. The town has a handsome Y. M. C. A., hospital, altruist society, library, art collection, etc., and the town in general seems to be able to co-operate on a much higher cultural plane than in Bloomfield. It is even socially self-conscious, to an extent rare in American towns, and has lately been discussing plans for town improvement and town planning. Concerted effort, in Bloomfield, on the other hand, owing to the equilibrium of classes and the lack of a wealthy

and brilliant leadership, is on a much more primitive plane. Traditions, church jealousy, lack of prestige, all combine to prevent civic consciousness and cultural advance. The "best people" are constantly lamenting the influx of the foreigners and factory workers, and the building up of districts of cheap houses which make the town unattractive to desirable city families. Those who do come, attracted by the charming surroundings of the Green and the sober atmosphere of the place, but finding no social atmosphere in which they can move, soon leave for some other community; so that there are at present no less than Three houses along the Green vacant for want of tenants, and likely to be so for some years to come.

As a result of all this, concerted effort in a large communal way seems only possible in types of social pleasure such as those of "physical activity" and "receptive sensation". The town has had for ten or fifteen years a baseball club of which it is very proud. Literally thousands of people of all classes witness its games, and help support it. Such an institution as the annual Fourth of July celebration, with parade, athletic games and fireworks, enlists the hearty support and co-operation of practically the entire town. The centennial celebration of 1912, lasting a week, with parades, and meetings and carnival, was the most notable instance of this spirit. In the last few years the bazaars of the Town Improvement Association have enlisted the support of all classes of women in the town. But these are practically the only instances of communal effort. Large movements like the erection of a new Y.M.C.A. building or hospital in Montclair would

have no chance of success in Bloomfield. Tenacious religious and social prejudice, which in the other town are overcome by the prestige and initiative of the "ruling class", would be too strong here to make co-operation possible. On the other hand, a town like Belleville, with no "ruling class", has not even these simple forms of concerted effort which Bloomfield has. In social life and amusements, then we can say that Bloomfield occupies the same intermediate position which it does geographically.

The effect, then, of the proximity of the city has been to ~~now~~ render the town unable to compete with the social and recreational attractions of the city. The class which was able financially and culturally, more or less, to keep alive a society and initiate social projects of communal benefit, has not been large enough or able enough for the task. Social life has thus been devitalized. The increased facilities of theatres and shows and dances, etc., ~~has~~ in the city have weakened amateur effort in all classes at home. The city has a glamor and a glare, and even those who have been brought up rather strictly begin to show a sophistication which was rare ten years ago. The city has the effect, in other words, of moving the social centre of gravity and attraction outside of the town itself, and penalizing the simpler group pleasures and social interests at home, without really bringing in a broader world of interests and vitalizing the town social life through the contact with the city. The town continues "slow" although within the circle of every social advantage.

The Effect on Culture and Ideals:-

We have suggested the church jealousy which exists in the town and prevents communal effort in spiritual affairs. Practically this works out in a divergence between the old Presbyterian Church, around which, as we have seen, the village grew up and from which it took its name, and the more Evangelical churches. For a century the old church dominated the town spiritually. With its core of the native aristocracy, it was always looked to to take the initiative, and yet there was always reserved the right among the other churches to reject that initiative when it was ~~was~~ taken. Nothing could be done without its support, and yet its leadership was always accepted with a certain amount of grudging by the others.

The traditional power of the old church, with its daughter church which had withdrawn amicably in 1869, was based largely on the hereditary spiritual power, one might say, of the old native stock, a considerable representation of which remains to ~~us~~ this day. Practically all the families which we have spoken of as the "ruling class" are members of this church, and the most eminent leaders are elders and deacons. The church was for a century sternly Calvinistic in tone, but of late years has been characterized by a certain amount of urban sophistication. Twenty years ago, it began the practice of importing paid professional singers and organist from New York; it has gradually added minute points of ritual, minister's gown, etc., which are considered slightly presumptuous by the more plebeian Evangelical churches of the town. The services of the latter have been kept up with much greater regularity and ardor than those of the old church. It has difficulty in filling its prayer-meetings, and is con-

stantly appealing to its members for greater devotion to the services and the church work. At the same time, although the total number of active members tends rather to decrease than to increase, there is no diminution in the contributions; the wealthy leaders feel that there is a social institution which must be kept up at any cost, a little citadel, so to speak, of their class, and they meet the increasing demands upon them in the way of new music, repairs, extension of foreign missionary work, with unexhausted vigor. The church seems more than any of the others in town to feel the emulation of the city; it is to be a "city" church, to all intents and purposes, with a position to maintain in the town and county. Newcomers with social ambitions make haste to join it, and spiritually-minded plebeians who look for office in the church or responsible positions of service are not particularly welcomed. Indeed the grip of this older, wealthy element is absolute.

The Methodist and Baptist Churches, the one founded about 1840 and the other in 1851, are much more democratic in composition, although each is dominated by a wealthy native "commuter", who pays the bills and therefore exercises spiritual as well as secular authority. The early members of both churches were drawn largely from the first 'commuters', men of comparatively humble position, and a class distinction was at once established with reference to the old church, which has persisted to this day, and to which we have had occasion several times to refer. The Catholic Church, established about 1875, has grown very rapidly, and is now by far the largest in town in point of numbers. It ministers almost exclusively to the working class and nothing is known of it by the other churches. The Evangelical Union of

ministers has of course no intercourse with its pastor, except when his aid is solicited in saloon license matters, and his entrance, as well as that of all Catholic leaders, into public affairs is looked upon with the deepest suspicion.

The Methodist and Baptist churches are highly conservative in dogma, and the old church rather uneasily so. The only definite symptom of urban sophistication is the fact that revivals seem to have been definitely abandoned in all the churches. With regards to the ideals of conduct, the ethical tone of all of these churches is still, as it has always been, Puritanistic. It is true that it is slightly uneasy at times, when it comes into contact with the freer ways of the city. A good man is often forced to have two slightly divergent codes, approving one set of things in the city, and another at home. At the risk of frivolity, I am moved to mention a series of cartoons which have appeared in the "New York Journal", called "The Man from Montclair", and picturing the zealous attempts to conceal from his neighbors whom he inopportu-ly meets in the city, the minor gayeties upon which he is bent. The cartoonist is a sociologist, for he has hit off perfectly a spirit which manifests itself, at least among the wealthier young and older men, in our suburban town. The "Montclair" should, however, have been "Bloomfield", to be thoroughly apposite.

At home, attendance at church is still the prerequisite for social eligibility and respectability in any class. A candidate for office must possess exceptional qualifications if he is to counterbalance the disadvantage of not being a church-goer and a Protestant. It is necessary to keep the Sabbath with considerable strictness, although the influx of motor-cars in recent years has seriously weakened that stronghold of Puritanism.

Dances and parties in town must end on Saturday night promptly at twelve, although the amusements of the city are held to justify one's remaining out till a later hour. Sunday golf- and tennis-~~ing~~ playing have of late years made considerable inroad among the 'aristocracy', although here there is an effort to keep it discreetly hidden from public gaze. The town still officially forbids Sunday games, as is shown by the following ordinance:-

"No person or persons shall on the first day of the week, commonly called Sunday, assemble or meet in any street, vacant lot or other place, and there engage in any ball game or disorderly conduct, or blow any horn ~~horns~~ or play any instrument upon any street, or sing, or make or assist in making any other loud noise upon any street, without first having obtained a license therefor from the Council, under the penalty of five dollars for each and every offence."

The ministers of the Presbyterian churches show themselves rather concerned about this Sabbath-breaking; while in the churches of the 'middle class', the world, the flesh and the devil appear in the guise of dancing and the theatres of the neighboring cities. In fact, dancing is still a moot point, and permission ~~is~~ has not yet been obtained to allow it in any school building. The question has come up perennially but is always defeated on moral grounds by a small majority of ^{the} Board of Education. Both classes think very highly of punctillious behavior, and any new families who are suspected of social laxness or what is called 'high life' are soon made to feel the disapproval of 'society' and move away to a more congenial neighborhood.

This Puritanism is, of course, of long standing in the town, and has been preserved against the influence of the city

largely by the rather rigid church and class differentiations. The old church, the center of the community, had a great reputation for its spirituality and missionary zeal; it was supposed to have sent out more missionaries in proportion to its membership than any in the State. The boarding schools, also, which flourished in the middle of the last century, had reputations of being little more than preparatory schools for the ministry and for missionary service. Calvinistic religion was bred in the bone of the town, and it will take much urban sophistication to get rid of it.

The largest moral issue which excites local interest is the excise question, which I discuss here rather than in connection with politics because it is made so preponderantly a moral and religious issue. It immediately precipitates a new political alignment, one between the "unco guid", the church people, - and the average citizen, the believer in "personal liberty", a very popular phrase in the county. The more Evangelical church people are inclined to be frankly Prohibitionist, but the attitude of the old church leaders tends to be somewhat equivocal. Prohibition does not seem to them to come within the range of practical politics, and diminution of the number of licenses, even, is represented to them as an attack on property rights. An instructive incident, an example of this, occurred a few years ago, when a saloon license was not renewed, because of what seemed good evidence against the character of the place. Considerable sentiment was developed among the old church leaders in favor of the "young man, who had thus been unjustly deprived of his livelihood". The license was finally re-granted. The interaction of this native Puritanism, then, and the urban sophistication has worked out a compromise in favor of the existing number of saloons (18). As new

applicants come up every year or so, a moral campaign is started to prevent them from securing the coveted license. The pulpits thunder, the town council is besieged with letters and "personal influence", petitions are drawn up, a hearing is held, perhaps a mass-meeting, and the applications are rejected. The question is so vexed a one, politically and religiously, that all classes are relieved to find a solution which preserves the status quo. The saloon interests are grateful that no move is made to reduce the number, while the "good" people seem to get all the glow of moral satisfaction from the fact that they are not increased. In Montclair, public sentiment long ago reduced the number of saloons to six, but here again we have the large working-class population and the evenly balanced classes in Bloomfield to account for the latter's failure to imitate the other town.

The religion of social service has made relatively little headway in the churches of the town, in spite of the proximity of the city and the possibilities for the stimulation of sociological interest. Chapels in the extreme northern and southern sections of the town were started about thirty years ago by the two Presbyterian churches, but until recently only religious services have been held there. Lately progress has been made by the introduction of gymnasiums and clubs, somewhat on the plan of settlement work. The idea is very new, however, and the 'institutional church' is still very far from a reality. The other churches have held aloof from these innovations, although Boy Scout corps, against considerable opposition, have been organized in all of them. The attitude of the older men and the church leaders towards such things as the attempts to organize men's civic leagues in the churches is one of slightly indignant protest against an attempt to introduce the secular and worldly into

God's house. An attempt recently to organize a charity organization society through the co-operation of the relief societies in the churches came to nothing, partly because of church jealousy, - some churches seeming to imply that their opportunity for helping their poor, their spiritual 'gymnasium', so to say, where they acquired strength and merit, would be taken away from them, - and partly because of this feeling that it would introduce a secular element. It was only when it was made a town project quite independent of the churches that it received support. The result, of course, is that it fails to a certain extent in its purpose, which is to prevent the duplication of relief.

As mentioned above, the Women's Town Improvement Association has been perhaps the most successful of local organizations founded for civic work. It does excellent work in keeping the parks and streets clean, and has done more to awake civic pride than any other organization in town. Its attitude towards the 'big men' of the town is perhaps too reverential and its agitation in favor of permitting dancing in the school buildings was perhaps too quickly given up. But it has succeeded in persuading the Board to open the buildings in some quarters of the town for neighborhood meetings.

The Board of Trade is largely a paper organization, making sporadic attempts to 'boom' the town, but not working actively for any particular policy or end. Any attempt to put the Board on record in the past has resulted in so much factional strife that it has remained content with a nominal existence.

In the matter of general culture, somewhat the same considerations apply as in the matter of amusements. The lack of available halls prevents there being given lectures and concerts, etc., by outsiders. The school buildings and the church halls cannot be rented, so that the town is dependent upon what the churches may provide. The two Presbyterian churches lead in this matter, each giving a course of lectures and contents throughout the winter. Talent is procured from New York, and the entertainments given are mostly travel and nature illustrated lectures, lectures by ministers and others on patriotic or humorous subjects, and readings of popular plays. There seems to be an effort to entertain rather than to instruct; certainly all the deeper questions of the time are carefully sidetracked. Many modern problems and issues simply never get an airing at all in the town, though so near New York. The church monopoly of culture has effectually insulated the town. The situation is quite different in Montclair where literary clubs and the Unitarian church provide a diet of much more stimulating fare.

The Library in Bloomfield is also under church influence, having been presented to the town under the guardianship of one of the churches by a wealthy communicant of the latter. A fee of \$1 a year is charged for taking books out, although the reading room is free. The town had no library until 1902, although it had ~~was~~ then already ~~extensive~~ 10,000 people. A beginning had been made in the '70's, when several thousand dollars was collected, and a building erected. There seems to have been no provision made for books, and the enthusiasm for culture dwindled to such an extent that the Library itself was never opened. The present library opened with 10,000 volumes and now has over 15,000, and a

membership of 724, one-sixth of whom come from Glen Ridge. This means that less than 500 families out of the 3164 in the town make use of the library. The readers are practically all of prosperous or moderate means. The library is situated at some distance from the working-class districts, and seems not to interest them at all. A men's reading room, equipped with newspapers, magazines and technical journals, was started but was abandoned because of lack of support. The circulation of the library is at present about 50,000, 75% of it fiction; the librarian insists that it is unfair to compare this with figures in other towns where the libraries send out ^{non-}fiction to the schools and so swell its circulation. Some effort here is made to cater to the wants of special students, and the reading-room is frequented by members of bible classes, women's literary societies, and high school pupils. The circumstances under which the Library was given and is managed hardly make it really public in character. The church censorship banishes many books which seem to it to savor of the revolutionary and the obscene. It is an interesting question whether or not, without this gift, the town would have felt the need of bestirring itself and building a public library of its own. The great paucity of literary and artistic people in the town, a paucity marked in comparison with Glen Ridge and Montclair, makes it seem doubtful if they would.

No cultural institution in the suburban town shows more markedly the effect of the proximity of the city than the newspaper. Most towns of the size, outside the metropolitan district, would have two or three weekly newspapers and probably a small daily. This town has only a small weekly of 8 pages, containing, besides the local advertisements, discussions of local politics, and "local jottings" or short personals. There is no regular

editorial column, but letters from contributors are printed. The New York and Newark dailies of course are delivered at the houses in all the communities of the suburban district, and drive the local paper except for advertisements and personals almost out of business. The editor of the paper in question is an aggressive and wide-awake citizen, in very bad standing with all the "molders of opinion", the "big men" of the town, since his campaign against annexation and his harping on "special privilege". He keeps very close watch of public affairs, and prints unusually detailed accounts of the meetings of the local Council. His paper is not sensational - indeed even in his attacks he preserves a guarded and judicial tone, but he is shrewd, and his paper though not very well written, is at least interesting and keen. The circulation is about 2,000, including Glen Ridge. The paper thus evidently goes into a very large percentage of the homes of the town. Most people do not pretend to take it seriously; its primitive appearance in comparison with the New York papers would assure that. But it seems, nevertheless, to exercise a quiet influence in local political affairs. It is often quoted and indeed provides the only forum in the town for discussion.

In the matter of education, the town has had a traditional reputation. In 1810, the Bloomfield Academy was built by joint stock subscription of the natives, and became a famous institution. Within the next thirty years three other large boarding schools were established, all of whom seem to have had a wide reputation. Their contribution, indeed, towards building up the town was thought considerable, for well-to-do families who sent their children out to Bloomfield to school would sometimes decide to make the town their permanent home.

Common schools, on the other hand, had been poor and mean. The well-to-do families of the village had sent their children to the academies as day-pupils. The common schools were pay-schools, each pupil paying \$2 per quarter. The schoolhouses were built and repaired by private subscription. But in 1849, the school trustees - and they were the first in the State to do it - took advantage of the new State law, providing for the consolidation of districts and the erecting of schoolhouses by the levying of a tax on the inhabitants of the village. The report of the superintendent the next year showed that whereas the increase in the number of children of school age in the village had been only 8, the increase of school attendance since the introduction of free schools the year before had been 494, and that 666 out of 848 children were receiving free instruction. The achievement of being the first town in the State to establish free schools long filled the community with pride, and is indeed heard to this day, with the implication that the schools must still be a model for the State as they were then. This sub-conscious feeling of perfection achieved has had a certain effect in delaying the improvement of the school system until recent years. The new system sounded the knell of the boarding schools and by 1875, they had disappeared, the Academy having been sold to a German Theological Seminary..

The town thus had a tradition of good schools, and for many years took a complacent pride in its reputation and progressiveness. It had the emulation of Montclair, which had provided itself with one of the first High Schools in the State, and had a well organized and modern system by 1870. In 1871, Bloomfield erected a large central building which contained a High School; in 1883,

a building for the grades. Corporal punishment was early abolished; the grade system was adopted in 1873 (from Germany, as the report says; but doubtless via Montclair); the new ~~idea~~ ideal was:- "The important art of teaching young children is not to see how much can be crammed into their heads, but to educate ~~the~~ the faculties, especially that of perception."

The financial depression of 1878-80, when hundreds of pieces of real estate were advertised for sale by the Sheriff, hit the schools. A Greenback -Labor ticket was elected, supported by the Catholics, which cut down the appropriations from \$10,000 to \$7500, dropped Greek and Latin from the list of subjects taught, and substituted bookkeeping and "natural philosophy". The classics were however later restored.

The reports continue to be complacent in tone, and the influence of progressive urban ideas in education is shown by the announcement in 1888 that "the abstract method formerly in use, beginning and continuing studies from books and by rules only, is entirely displaced. Children are called upon first to deal ~~with~~ with things, their facts, relations and uses. By thus fixing and developing habits of correct observation and comparison in a most natural way, the reasoning powers are appealed to, called ~~into~~ into exercise and carefully trained".

This is encouraging, but it must be remembered that school population was outrunning the facilities as the town increased in numbers, and the thrifty bourgeois commuter population was not inclined to be lavish with its expenditures. The High School was under fire at various times as a superfluous luxury, which only a small proportion of the town could take advantage of, and yet

which the whole town had to support. Finally in 1898 the superintendent secured a large bond issue and four new schools were built. The following table gives the figures available for the schools of the town:-

<u>Year.</u>	<u>No. in Public S.</u>	<u>In Private S.</u>	<u>High S.</u>	<u>Children 5-18</u>
1872.	572			1133
1873.	796			1150
1874.	874	141	43	1197
1875.	887			1272
1877..	957		35	
1878.	1034		43	1414
1879.	1015	82		
1880.				1454
1881.	1098	306		
1882.	924	250	39	
1883.	908		45	1522
1886.	998		64	1655
1893.	1161		84	
1898.	1230		122	
1900.	1535			2359
1903.	2102		138	
1905.	2247		155	2849
1908.	2629.		203	
1912.	3174		318	3677

The falling off of the figures after 1881 is probably due to the method of registering, in the earlier years ~~namely~~ all those who came to school at all being counted, while later only the average attendance was taken. The great increase between ~~1881~~ 1898 and 1903, when the number of children in school almost doubled indicates how sorely the new buildings were needed, and that there had been a large number kept out because of lack of room. The influx of factoryworkers with larger families than the natives produces a school problem of congestion analogous to that in the Metropolis. The preponderance of the factory element is suggested by the small High School, which, as is seen in the table, has by no means kept pace with the growth in population. The children of this class rarely enter the High School, and even the children of the middle class, considering it a 'waste of time' rarely finish, but leave to 'go to work' in the city. Those who have been graduated are in most cases either children of well-to-do parents who are going to college or else girls who have no position to go into in life and finish school rather through inertia than anything. Even though the number of pupils in the High School has increased, the number in the graduating classes has remained almost stationary until very recently, and of this number a large proportion, sometimes four-fifths, have been girls. There has been, however, a steady increase since 1905; the proportion in the High School of all the children in school was then only 6.9%, whereas it is now 10.9%. An impetus has been given to remaining in school by the erection of a handsome new building with gymnasium, etc. and the introduction of a commercial course has also resulted in holding many pupils who would other-

wise leave.

But the lure of the city and the opportunities it seems to offer in office and shop, ~~are~~ are very powerful, and the effect on the High School is to make it almost a class institution, a sort of private school. The thrifty bourgeois thus have some justification for their plea that, since only a few selected families get the benefit of the school, it is they who should pay the cost. But it must be said that this talk is heard less nowadays; the new High School building, a great source of local pride, will effectually quench such a sentiment, probably forever. In Montclair, as will be seen from the following table, the situation is very different, but Montclair has a different class alignment and more wealth to provide proper school facilities.

This table gives comparative figures with the other towns in the State that we have used:-

<u>1903 Census.</u>	<u>Bloomfield.</u>	<u>Montclair.</u>	<u>Millville.</u>	<u>Philipsburg.</u>
Population.	10868	15406	11363	12632
School: bldgs.	8	9	13	9
rooms.	71	71	48	51
Teachers: H.S.	9	19	4	5
kinderg.	9	15	0	0
other day schools.	53	67	44	42
night s.	6	3	4	7
Pupils: H.S.	142	392	139	181
kind.	224	404	0	0
other d.s.	1747	2316	1986	1900
night s.	278	233	153	84
Percent. of popula-				

Bldg. Montclair. Millv. Philbs.

Proportion of				
population in sch.	20.0%	21.7%	20.0%	17.1%
Proportion of population				
of school age.	24.4%	23.2%	26.6%	23.4%
Expenditure per cap-				
ita on education.	\$6.02	\$9.22	\$2.63	\$3.00

Bloomfield, it will be seen, spends twice as much for education as the towns outside the metropolitan district, but only two-thirds as much as Montclair. The latter town has a larger proportion of its children in school, and a much larger high school. Where in Bloomfield only 6% of the children were in the High School, in Montclair there were 11.7%. These figures in general show clearly Bloomfield's middle position; the proximity to the city has induced a greater expenditure than the outside towns, but the industrial preponderance in the population has kept the expenditure lower than what it is in a wealthy suburban community like Montclair, ~~xx~~ so largely composed of 'commuters'.

Summary:-

We have now traced in various aspects the process whereby a country village was gradually brought into communication with two large cities, which exercised an attractive influence upon it, drawing out its more aggressive young people, sterilizing its social life and introducing ^{were} sophistication into its ideals, and ~~was~~ in turn ~~is~~ attracted by the village itself, so that industrial plants looking for a site to build, city people looking for

country residences near the city, were induced to come to the town. Starting with three fairly defined and well differentiated and balanced classes,- the native 'aristocracy', descendants of the original settlers; a thrifty 'middle class'; and a factory class of wage-earners,- the life of the town operated by a process of segregative selection upon the large element of city people who came to the suburbs. Endowed with a ^{rather narrow} tenacious and religious tradition, it tended to repel not only the irreligious but the artistic and cultured as well. Those families of congenial breeding and wealth which came to the town the native 'aristocracy' assimilated to its own class; the 'middle class' drew the pious bourgeois of thrifty and Puritanical disposition; the factory element drew a class of skilled and self-respecting wage-earners. The balance of these classes, and the church jealousies engendered operated to prevent social co-operation on community projects and concerted efforts except on the plane of sports and celebrations. The political struggles moved about the issue of the clamor for improvements resisted by the conservative elements which paid the taxes. This conservatism ~~was~~ resulted in the secession of the most progressive and cultured sections of the town, and the consequent loss of the wealth and social initiative which might have vitalized the local institutions, and created the necessary new ones. Left to itself, however, a group-individualism has prevented the town from reaching the cultural and social standard of some of its neighbors. Emulation with its neighbors of late years, rather than a new alignment of classes, along with a slowly broadening social spirit of the times has furnished the motive for much improvement, and augurs further for the future.